

CONFIDENTIAL.]

REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 31st July 1909.

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

[As it stood on the 1st January 1909.]

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
BENGALI.					
1	"Anusilan" ...	Calcutta ...	Weekly	.....	1,000
2	"Bangabandhu" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Barendro Lal Mukerjee, age 27, Hindu.	500
3	"Bangabhumi" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Gets contributions from different writers.	
4	"Bangaratna" ...	Banaghat ...	Do.	Kanai Lal Das, age 25, Karmokar	100
5	"Bangavasi" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Behari Lal Sarkar, age 52, Kayastha ; Hari Mohan Mukerji, age 41, Brahmin ; and Durga Das Lahiri.	15,000
6	"Bankura Darpan" ...	Bankura ...	Do.	Biswanath Mukerji, B.L.	713
7	"Basumati" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Radhika Prosad Ghose, age 37, Hindu	13,000
8	"Bharat Chitra" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	.....
9	"Birbhum Hitaishi" ...	Suri ...	Do.	Rajranjan Sen, age 34, Baidya	300
10	"Birbhum Varta" ...	Do. ...	Do.	Debendra Nath Chakravarti, age 36, Brahmin.	800
11	"Burdwan Sanjivani" ...	Burdwan ...	Do.	Prabodhananda Sarkar	950
12	"Chinsura Vartavaha" ...	Chinsura ...	Do.	Dinanath Mukerji, age 42, Brahmin	650
13	"Daily Hitavadi" ...	Calcutta ...	Daily	.....
14	"Dainik Chandrika" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Hari Dass Dutt, age 37, Kayastha	200
15	"Dharma-o-Karma" ...	Ditto ...	Monthly	.....
16	"Education Gazette" ...	Chinsura ...	Weekly	Shibnath Bannerji, M.A., B.L.	1,500
17	"Ekata" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Hari Dhan Kundu (Principal contri- butor), caste <i>Teli</i> , age 34 years, Fashitola, Howrah.	1,000
18	"Hitavadi" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Panch Kowri Banerji, Jaladhar Sen, age 46, Hindu ; and Jogendra Kumar Chatterjee of Chandragore, and Manindranath Bose of Chitta.	30,000
19	"Hindusthan" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Hari Das Dutt, age 37, Kayastha	1,000
20	"Howrah Hitaishi" ...	Howrah ...	Do.	Gishpaty Kabyatirtha, age 36, Kayas- tha.	3,500
21	"Jagaran" ...	Bagerhat	Do.	Behari Lal Roy, age 45, Kayastha ; Beni Madhab Ganguly, age 36, Brah- min ; and Monmotha Nath Roy, age 32, Brahmin.	600
22	"Jasohar" ...	Jessore ...	Do.	Ananda Mohan Chaudhury, age 34, Kayastha	500
23	"Kalyani" ...	Magura ...	Do.	Biseswar Mukherjee, age 45, Brahmin ; and Tarak Brahma Sikdar, Kayastha.	1,200
24	"Khulnavasi" ...	Khulna ...	Do.	Gopal Chandra Mukerjee, age 50, Brahmin.	300
25	"Manbhum" ...	Purulia ...	Do.	Bagola Chandra Ghosh, age 36, Kayastha.	300
26	"Matribhumi" ...	Chandernagore	Do.	Surendra Nath Sen, age 32, Hindu	500
27	"Mihir-o-Sudhakar" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Sayyid Osman of Basirhat, age 35 ; and Maulvi Reyazuddin Ahmad of Kareya.	4,000
28	"Murshidabad Hitaishi" ...	Saidabad ...	Do.	Bonwari Lal Goswami, age 44, Brah- min.	100
29	"Nadia" ...	Krishnagar	Do.	Susil Kumar Maitra, age 28, Brah- min.	800
30	"Navajivani-o-S w a d e s h i Christian."	Calcutta ...	Tri-Weekly	Rev. Lall Behari Shah, age 50, Native- Christian.	300
31	"Nayak" ...	Ditto ...	Daily and Weekly.	.....	500
32	"Nihar" ...	Contai ...	Weekly	Madhu Sudhan Jana, age 49	200
33	"Nivedan" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	.....
34	"Pallivarta" ...	Bongong ...	Do.	Charu Ch. Roy, age 35, Kayastha	400
35	"Pallivasi" ...	Kalna ...	Do.	Sosi Bhusan Banerji, age 42, Brahmin	600
36	"Prachar" ...	Calcutta ...	Monthly	.....
37	"Prasun" ...	Katwa ...	Weekly	Purna Chandra Chatterji, age 43 ; and Banku Behari Ghose, age 38, Goala.	500
38	"Pratkar" ...	Berhampore	Do.	Kamakhya Prosad Ganguli, age 90, Brahmin.	100
39	"Prava" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Mahendra Nath Chakravarti, age 39, Brahmin.	300
40	"Prabhat" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Sailendra Nath Chatterjee, age 26, Brahmin.	300
41	"Purulia Darpan" ...	Purulia ...	Do.	Amulya Ratan Chatterjee, age 37, Brahmin.	300
42	"Ratnakar" ...	Asansol ...	Do.	Rakhal Chandra Chakravarti, age 26, Brahmin ; and Gopal Chandra Mittra, age 26, Kayastha.	500
43	"Samaj Darpan" ...	Salkia ...	Do.	Satya Charan Banerjee, age 28, Brah- min.	1,300
44	"Samay" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Ganendra Nath Das, age 54, Brahmin	800
45	"Sanmilani" ...	Serampore	Do.	.....

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS—concluded.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
BENGALI—concl'd.					
46	"Samvad Purnachandrodaya"	Calcutta ...	Daily	Purna Chandra Ghattak, age 45, Brahmin.	50
47	"Sanjivani" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly	Shiva Nath Sastri and Ramananda Chatterjee.	7,000
48	"Sevika" ...	Diamond Harbour	Monthly	Moulvi Muhammad Monirazzam of Chittagong.	1,500
49	"Soltan" ...	Calcutta ...	Weekly	Baikunta Das Gupta, age 35, Baidya	3,000
50	"Sonar Bharat" ...	Howrah ...	Do.	Basik Mohan Chakravarti, age 37, Brahmin.	2,000
51	"Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika."	Calcutta ...	Do.	S. C. Lahiri, Pat. Lovett and Pundit Baijnath Bidyanidhi.	500
52	"Swadesh" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Sita Nath Mondal, age 26, Hindu ...	900
53	"Tamalika" ...	Tamluk ...	Do.	Hem Chandra Nag, age 26, Kayastha	500
54	"Twenty-four Parganas Vartavaha."	Bhawanipur	Do.		
HINDI.					
55	"Bharat Mitra" ...	Calcutta ...	Weekly	Mahabir Prosad, age 35, Vaisya; and Amrito Lal Chakravarti, age 46, Brahmin.	3,200
56	"Bihar Bandhu" ...	Bankipore	Do.	Nanda Kumar Sharma, age 35, Kayastha.	500
57	"Bir Bharat" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Prantosh Dutta, age 35, Kayastha ...	500
58	"Ghar Bandhu" ...	Ranchi ...	Fortnightly	Rev. E. Muller, Superintendent, G. E. L. Mission, Ranchi.	1,000
59	"Gyanoday" ...	Calcutta ...	Monthly		
60	"Jain Gajat" ...	Arrah ...	Weekly	Printed and Published in the United Provinces.	
61	"Jain Pataka" ...	Calcutta ...	Monthly		
62	"Hindi Bangavasi" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly	Hari Kissen Joahar, age 30, Khettri	4,000
63	"Hitavarta" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Rao Purandkar, age 29, Mahratta Brahmin.	3,000
64	"Lakshmi Upadesh Lahri"	Gaya ...	Monthly		
65	"Marwari" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	R. K. Tebrevala, age 34, Hindu Agarwallas.	500
66	"Marwari Bandhu" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly		
67	"Narsingha" ...	Ditto ...	Monthly		
68	"Siksha" ...	Bankipore	Weekly	Gohkaran Singh, age 38, Babhan ...	255
PERSIAN.					
69	"Roznama-i-Mu k a d d a s -Hablul Matin."	Calcutta ...	Weekly	Syed Jalaluddin Alq Husaini, Muham-madan.	
URDU.					
70	"Ayini-i-chatar Gupt" ...	Bankipore	Do.		
71	"Al Panch" ...	Ditto ...	Do.		
72	"Bihar Gazette" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Muhammad Murad Ali Khan, age 42,	250
73	"Dar-us Sultanat" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Quazi Abdul Latif, age 35, Muham-madan.	200
74	"Khawah Mokhab Panch"	Gaya ...	Do.		
URIYA.					
75	"Garjatbasini" ...	Talcher ...	Do.	Bhagi Ruth Misra, age 40, Brahmin.	
76	"Manorama" ...	Baripada ...	Do.		
77	"Nilachal Samachar" ...	Puri ...	Do.	Baidya Nath Singh, age 31, Punjabi	600
78	"Sambalpur Hitaishini" ...	Bamra ...	Do.	Dinabandhu Padhan ...	
79	"Samvad Vahika" ...	Balasore ...	Do.	Harish Chandra Sarkar, age 52, Sad-gop.	500
80	"Uriya and Navasamvad" ...	Cuttack ...	Do.	Ram Tarak Sen, age 47, Tamuli ...	700
81	"Utkal Darpan" ...	Sambalpur	Do.		
82	"Utkal Dipika" ...	Cuttack ...	Do.	Gauri Sankar Roy, age 75 ...	800
83	"Utkal Sakti" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.		
84	"Utkal Varta" ...	Ditto ...	Do.	Moni Lall Moherana, age 45, Hindu Karmokar.	500

Additions to, and alterations in, the list of Vernacular Newspapers.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
<i>Bengali.</i>					
5A	"Bangla" ...	Santipur ...	Weekly	.....	.....
26A	"Medini Bandhav" ...	Midnapore ...	Do.	.....	.....
<i>Hindi.</i>					
54A	"Bharat Bandhu" ...	Calcutta ...	Weekly	.....	.....
68A	"Tirhut Samachar" ...	Muzaffarpur ...	Do.	Jaganand Kumar ...	.....
<i>Urdu.</i>					
74A	"Najmul Akhbar" ...	Calcutta ...	Weekly	S. M. Nazim Husain ...	.....
74B	"Star of India" ...	Arrah ...	Do.	Zahurul Haque ...	.....
<i>Bengali.</i>					
47	"Sandhya" ...	Calcutta ...	Do.	Ceased to exist ...	.....

I.—FOREIGN POLITICS.

1. "The beginning and end of Muhammad Ali Mirza" is the heading

The ex-Shah Muhammad Ali Mirza.

of an article in the *Namai Muqaddas Hablul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 19th July, in which the paper has given a detailed account of the horrible incidents connected with the reign of the ex-Shah of Persia, and tried to depict him as the most perfidious, capricious and double-dealing Monarch who, during his transitory reign, left no stone unturned in endeavouring to stifle the idea of freedom in the minds of his people. The paper says that the ex-Shah is reported to have once expressed: "I prefer pilotage of the Russian ship to the constitutional sovereignty of Persia; if I am hard pressed, I shall make over Persia to Russia, rather than bear the burden of the constitutional government." Thirteen months ago the Shah uttered before the National Assembly: "My forefathers obtained this Kingdom by the sword, and I shall not sit on my legs till I have not proved my right to the inheritance by the sword."

NAMAI MUQADDAS
HABLUL MATIN
July 19th, 1909,

In concluding the article, the papers gives the photo-block of the ex-Shah with the letter press:—

"O, thou, the light of my eye; thou canst not reap but what thou hast sown!"

2. Approving of the recent revolution in Persia, the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 21st July writes:—

England and Russia in Persia.

If the affair in Persia had been simply a struggle between the sovereign and the people, it would have been settled quite satisfactorily long ago. Two great Powers, England and Russia, stationed themselves in Persia long ago, and each of them is seeking opportunities for extending its own influence in that country further and further. For this purpose they have arrogated to themselves the dignity of counsellors, and have sided now with the Shah and now with the people, always taking care to bluster at the party to which they may for the time being have been in opposition. Whenever there has been any conflict between the sovereign and the people, they have stood by and amused themselves by egging both the parties on to the conflict. The Shah has now fled away from the throne, there has been an awakening of the popular power, and the time has come when a settlement ought to be made; and consequently both England and Russia have come forward with their advice gratis. Russia has greater influence in Persia than England has, and that is why Russia has given the deposed Shah shelter in the Russian Embassy, and has at the same time been helping the people with forces. Since the popular power has been victorious in its conflict with the ruling power, it could certainly have established peace in the country by governing it after its own fashion. But anxious as England and Russia are to extend their influence in Persia, is it possible that their selfish instincts will allow them to leave the people of Persia alone to enjoy peace?

NAYAK,
July 21st, 1909,

3. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July, in referring to the deposition of the Shah of Persia, speaks of the amazement with which all Asia has witnessed

The Persian situation.

this triumph of this popular power in Persia, and refers to an apprehension that probably Russia will yet conspire to restore the deposed Shah, whom she egged on to despotic methods to his ruin.

BASUMATI,
July 23rd, 1909.

4. In commenting on the Amir of Kabul's speech, in which he is reported

The Amir's love for the Indians.

to have said that the conduct of the few Indians who have been suspected of joining in the conspiracy against his life would never take away his love for other Indians, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 26th July exclaims:—"How sweet these words are!"

HINDI BANGAVASI,
July 26th, 1909,

5. Seeing the recent collision between the Frontier tribesmen and the Sikh Sepoys in the Tochi Valley, the *Hindi*

Disturbance in the Frontier.

Bangavasi [Calcutta] of the 26th July asks if the punitive police is meant for the Indians only.

HINDI BANGAVASI,
July 26th, 1909.

II.— HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—Police..

BURDWAN
SANJIVANI,
July 20th, 1909.

6. A correspondent to the *Burdwan Sanjivani* [Burdwan] of the 20th July writes that the zamindars are now leasing out

Chaukidari Chakran lands. resumed chakran lands at much higher rates of rent than what has been fixed by the Government, and that they realise Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 as royalty on every bigha of land thus leased out. If half the amount, which the zamindars thus obtain illegally, be paid to the Chaukidari Fund, poor raiyats may be relieved of a considerable portion of the burden of the Chaukidari Tax.

BANGAVASI,
July 24th, 1909.

7. Agreeing with the views expressed by the *Pioneer* in an article under the heading "Foundations of Justice," which was published in one of its recent issues, the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 24th July writes:—

The system of collecting evidence followed by the Police.

If an accused person is arrested after all the evidence there may be against him has been collected, innocent persons may be expected to be safe from harassment. Cases are not rare in which the Police arrest a man simply on suspicion, and often persons are arrested against whom other people who, for aught one may know, may be their enemies, made any allegation out of malice. In such a case the Police take no pains to find out the truth of the allegations made against the accused; for it at present lies with the complainant to prove the man's guilt. We would suggest that the system of making private enquiries about an accused person before he is arrested should be introduced into India. Such a system works very well in England, and, considering that the mass of the people of India are illiterate and simple and stand in mortal awe of the Police, a circumstance which makes them fight shy of the Police in the matter of collecting evidence regarding a case, it is all the more important that this system should be introduced into this country.

(b).—Working of the Courts

NAYAK,
July 22nd, 1909.

8. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July writes:—

Gharies in the Midnapur Court compound.

Mr. Forrester, the District Judge of Midnapur, has issued an order prohibiting the admission of carriages into the Court compound. This is causing much inconvenience to pleaders. Mr. Saswal, a barrister, and Babu Trailakhiya Nath Pal, a leading pleader, asked Mr. Forrester to withdraw the order so far as the carriages of lawyers practising in that Court were concerned; but Mr. Forrester replied that he did not care whether the lawyers were inconvenienced or insulted by the order, and that he would not allow any carriage to come inside the Court compound and to cause inconvenience to him. Is there no Pasteur in Midnapur who can cure Mr. Forrester of his "Gharry-phobia", and who is bold enough to take his gharry into the Court compound in defiance of this illegal order?

HITAVADI,
July 23rd, 1909.

9. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July writes that Saturday sittings the High Court will be beneficial to the public, and the Judges ought not to complain considering how many holidays besides they enjoy.

HINDI BANGAVASI,
July 26th, 1909.

10. Sir Lawrence Jenkins's making Saturday a full working day will, according to the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 26th July, be conducive to great convenience to the public.

An approval.

HINDUSTAN,
July 24th, 1909.

11. Referring to the case in which one Tujar Ray, a land-holder of the Samistipur subdivision, is said to have been unlawfully deprived of the possession of some land by an order of the Subdivisional Magistrate, the *Hindustan* [Calcutta] of the 24th July says:—

The Subdivisional Magistrate of Samastipur.

In dealing with the case, the High Court has said that the Subdivisional Magistrate's order evinces no respect for law or justice. The Magistrate

can pass no such order under any procedure laid down in the Criminal Procedure Code. Consequently the said order has been altogether illegal. Such an illegal order can not be binding on the other party. If the Police obeys the order which the Magistrate has passed on it, then the Police will be held responsible for its illegal action.

The judges of the highest Court in the land have, however, failed to prevent the Subdivisional Magistrate from carrying out his illegal purpose. If a Magistrate does anything as a judge under any law, then only the High Court can interfere in the matter. But if the Magistrate does not follow any law, and does any very improper act not as a judge, then the High Court is powerless, without jurisdiction. Even an insignificant Magistrate can do whatever he likes, if he does not follow or obey any law. A District Magistrate can imperil the safety of all respectable men in their jurisdiction; a Subdivisional Magistrate can harass all men within his subdivision.

This is a serious matter, but still it is happening in this country all the year round. "The course of time is crooked." At one time Sir Elijah Impey, the then Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, made the Governor-General Warren Hastings see stars in the case of the Raja of Kasijorha, in Midnapore. For espousing the cause of the Raja of Kasijorha Warren Hastings was accused and punished by Sir Elijah Impey. The same highest Court that at one time issued summons and warrants against Governor-Generals, is now powerless to check the vagaries of a most insignificant Magistrate of an insignificant subdivision.

The Kingdom in which an insignificant Magistrate can, by an unlawful order, by an act which is against the law and not warranted by it, bring trouble on a Zamindar, Talukdar, Raja or Maharaja, can harass even the Khaja (?) Nababs of the Musalmans; no wonder that the Viceroy of that Kingdom should, by enforcing a law, a law repugnant to justice, of 1818, snatch away a number of great men in the country from their houses and keep them imprisoned. The Viceroy had, however, to take the sanction of the Secretary of State. But the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Samastipur had not taken the sanction of anybody.

The judgment of the High Court has become known to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Viceroy. The Sub-divisional Magistrate of Samastipur will surely be taught a lesson. But a remedy must be provided which will apply to all such cases. If District and Sub-divisional Magistrates are compelled to rest satisfied with only such things as maintaining the public peace and remaining only as controlling officers of the police; if he is deprived of all powers as regards dispensing justice and enforcing laws; if, in other words, the universally sought-for separation of executive and judicial functions is effected, then a remedy will be provided which will be operative on all sides.

Otherwise, we shall continue to see the Magistrates and subdivisional Magistrates of many districts and subdivisions enforcing such unlawful orders as the above and harassing people without cause.

12. In noticing the acquittal of Mr. Stevens, Manager of Dilkhush Tea Garden in Assam, who was charged with outraging a girl of 10 years, the *Bir Bharat* [Calcutta]

BIR BHARAT.
July 25th, 1909.

of the 25th July remarks:—Can a white man ever be considered to have outraged the chastity of a black woman? The Magistrate did not exercise his intelligence inasmuch as he did not allow the white man to bring a counter-charge against the guardians of the girl!

13. Referring to the order of the Bombay High Court suspending the pleader Varnan Sakharan Khare from his practice for one year, for which period he has been bound down to be of good behaviour, the *Hindi Bangavasi*

HINDI BANGAVASI.
July 26th, 1909.

[Calcutta] of the 26th July remarks:—Hitherto it was only the back of the Indians that was the object of punishment, but now the belly, too, will be chastised.

(c)—Jails.

14. The heart breaks, says the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 24th July, to hear of the unbearable sufferings of Mr. Kolhatkar, the editor of *Desh Sevak*,

BHARAT MITRA.
July 24th, 1909.

Editor Kolhatkar in jail.

in Nagpur jail. Those who saw him while being removed to another jail say these sufferings have told very seriously on his health. After describing how pale and reduced he has become and the difficulty with which he was walking on account of his chains, the paper continues: The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces has not had the courtesy to reply to the representation of the gentlemen who saw Mr. Kolhatkar in that condition. The writings of Mr. Aravinda Ghose, for the publication of which he has been punished, have been declared innocent by a Sessions Judge, but, alas! Mr. Kolhatkar is made to rot in jail with such hardness.

(d).—Education.

TIRHUT-SAMACHAR,
July 21st, 1909.

15. The *Tirhut Samachar* [Muzaffarpur] of the 21st July objects to the order promulgated by the Calcutta University that no candidate for the supplementary Entrance Examination will be admitted into any recognised school after the 20th July as being unfair to the students, as the order has taken them by surprise, since three months' attendance in such schools was all that was required by the previous orders and the revised order was issued on the very date on which it was to come into force.

SAMAY,
July 23rd, 1909.

16. The *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July draws the attention of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University to the miserable plight of the Entrance passed students who, not getting admission into any college, are roaming in the streets like so many beggar boys. The authorities of colleges have only one thing to say to these students: "There is no more room." The private colleges are powerless to do anything to help these students, as they are seriously handicapped by the new regulations. The future of these hapless students is very gloomy, no doubt. It is hoped that Doctor Mukerjee will yet do something to save the situation.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR,
July 23rd, 1909.

17. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July does not think that the preliminary B.L. examination, which is of the nature of a test examination, can serve any useful purpose. On the contrary, its only result is waste of time, energy and money. The questions set at this examination last time besides show that the examiners were anxious to make a display of their own learning. When the questions at the preliminary examination are so difficult, it is not easy to believe that the questions will not be more difficult still at the final examination. As for the Musalman students, they have been thrown quite into despair.

BHARAT MITRA,
July 24th, 1909.

The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 24th July has the following under the heading noted in the margin:—
By the strenuous efforts of those interested in the teaching of Hindi, teachers of that language were appointed in the Hindu and Hare Schools and the Presidency College. The Vaishya Sabha of Barabazar, Calcutta, which had taken a prominent part in these efforts having resolved to give gold medals to students who obtained the highest marks in Hindi at the Intermediate and B.A. Examinations, but Raja Kamalanand Singh having promised a gold medal on the results of the B.A. Examination, the Sabha contented itself to give its medal to the Intermediate student only. It is to be regretted that the proposals of both would be limited to the last examinations only, for the educational authorities have already abolished two of the posts. This was not because there was a paucity of students taking up Hindi, the number of such students having risen from 7 to 30 in the Hare School and 12 to 30 in the Presidency College. How the step on the part of the educational authorities caused a rude shock to those whose mother tongue is Hindi will be dealt with in some future issue.

(e).—Local Self-Government and Municipal Administration.

NIHAR,
July 20th, 1909.

The *Nihar* [Contai] of the 28th July reports that fever of a virulent type is at present raging throughout the subdivision and the mortality is rising high. The sufferings caused to the inhabitants are indescribable. The prevalence of fever in Contai.

villages of Hedy, Bhagawanpur, Khajuri, Ramnagar, Egra, Fataspur and Dantun have suffered very severely. An epidemic so severe has never been known in recent times.

20. A correspondent of the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July writes that the district of Backerganj once so healthy and prosperous on account of its fertility, has fallen upon evil times. The river water has turned into brine and malaria is claiming a large number of victims. If any body entered into the villages and surveyed the situation, he would scarcely be able to refrain from tears, so great is the misery of the inhabitants. Government has done nothing to alleviate their miseries. The salt water of the river is not only a source of great hardship to the people of the district, it is also doing great damage to the paddy crop, and the suffering to the cattle is so intense that one can scarcely comprehend it unless one sees it with his own eyes. It seems that want of farsightedness in the Government is more responsible for this state of things than natural causes.

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 23rd, 1909.

(f) — Questions affecting the land.

21. The *Nihar* [Contai] of the 20th July publishes the following:—

Survey and Settlement operations
in Midnapore.

Unfortunately the Settlement Officers are giving to certain local terms the very opposite of locally accepted significations. Thus the term *chakdar* is taken to signify tenure-holder. There are many villages having the suffix "chak," among which there are *devottar* mehals, which are termed "tenures." Depending on this analogy they have decided that *jalpai* lands are tenures as well. These *jalpai* lands though having the termination "chak," are quite different from tenures having the same termination. Villages such as Syamchak, Kalyanchak, Mitrachak, etc., are tenures. *Jalpai* "chaks" must also therefore be tenures, and the holders thereof tenure-holders. Such is the conclusion which has actually been arrived at by the Settlement Officers. But they ought to know that at the last settlement these "chakdars" were styled raiyats and that the records of that settlement are still used as evidence in courts. One Babu Bholanath Nanda having at the time of the last settlement cleared lands of which he had taken lease from the Government of jungles and brought them under cultivation, was recommended by Mr. Mendis to be accorded preferential treatment at the next settlement. But at the present settlement his lands have been turned into tenures and his heirs have been made tenure-holders. At the last settlement nobody took lands as tenure-holders, for the people, ignorant as they were, understood the difference between tenure-holders and raiyats.

In these localities tenures are called *taluks* and large tracts of raiyatwari lands are called *chaks*. A few bighas of land are tenures, but not *chaks*. *Taluks* are never called *chaks* and *chaks* can never mean tenures. According to local custom the *chakdars* are ordinary raiyats, they are not landlords. These matters have received no consideration at all. And the Settlement Officers have created a great confusion by taking *chak* to mean tenure and *chakdar* as raiyats.

22. The *Nihar* [Contai] of the 20th July writes:—

Settlement operations in the
Majnamutha and Jalamutha
Estates.

In the settlement of the Majnamutha and Jalamutha Estates, numerous applications under section 40 of the Bengal Tenancy Act for the conversion of *bhachhi* rents into money rents are being made, by occupancy raiyats and landlords. Are these applications being made voluntarily, or are they the result of wire-pulling? If the latter had not been the case, the number of these applications would never have been so unusually large. Now, who is responsible for the suffering and trouble, not to speak of the costs, which the applicants in the event if their applications being rejected must have to undergo?

We do not deny that under rule 20 of the Settlement Manual of 1900, Part III, Chapter VI, the Settlement Officer may endeavour, under section 40 of the Tenancy Act, to convert *bhachhi* rents into money rents in tracts where

NIHAR,
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NIHAR,
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artificial irrigation works have to be undertaken, if "the great majority of the raiyats" give their "free consent," but not otherwise. But in these tracts such irrigation works cannot be undertaken. Under the circumstances to instigate the *bhagchasis*, who are not raiyats but are mere hired labourers according to local custom, to make applications under section 40, as if they were occupancy raiyats, is scarcely fair on the part of Settlement Officers.

Whether the *bhagchasis* are, or are not, raiyats, is still a moot point. Who knows whether, after the final publication of settlement records, the decision of the Settlement Courts will stand when suits are brought in the Civil Courts? How is it, then, that such indecent haste is being shown in getting applications under section 40 submitted? It is not difficult, however, to conjecture why such an attempt is being made to convert into money payments the contributions in paddy made by the *bhagchasis*. If the lands of the *chakdars* he recorded as *nij jote* lands, the Government demand upon it will not exceed Re. 1-8 or Re. 1-12 per bigha. But if, on the other hand, the *bhagchasis* can be converted into raiyats, and their rents in money settled at Rs. 4 to Rs. 8 per bigha, then the Government revenue will proportionally increase, so that the settlement officers will get credit for their meritorious work. But alas, this hope of theirs has no chance of being realised. At page 87 of the Settlement Manual it is expressly provided as follows:—

"He (the Revenue officer) must not endeavour to obtain an increase of rents merely from the supposed necessity of showing an increased revenue."

This shows that it is not the desire of the Government to secure an increased revenue by any means, fair or foul. Why, then, are the Revenue officers going to act illegally by fixing rents under section 40 payable by *bhagchasis* at Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per bigha? Again, to entrust these Revenue officers with the decision of the cases under section 40 seems to be scarcely a fair arrangement, considering that it was these very officers who instigated the filing of the petitions under that section.

There is another point which deserves serious consideration. Even if the *bhagchasis* are admitted to be raiyats, the payment of rent in money would be disastrous both to them and to the landlords. The raiyats are not habituated to such methods, and will invariably fall into arrears, and the landlords, not getting their portion of paddy as hitherto, would be reduced to a starving condition.

(h)—General.

NAYAK,
July 20th, 1903.

23. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 20th July has the following:—

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S ANGRY LOOK [*lit.*, REDDENING HIS EYES.]

Last Friday we said a few (*lit.*, two or four) words about the speech which

"The Lieutenant-Governor's
angry look."

Sir Edward, the Lieutenant-Governor, had delivered at the last meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council. To-day we shall say something more,

considering it our duty to do so.

Those who know the nature of Sir Edward Baker, the Lieutenant-Governor, are aware that he is a man possessing a very strong determination. Our present Lieutenant-Governor is what is called in English "a strong man," and in Hindi "Sakt Marad." Those, who possess such a nature, do not know how to say anything by halves (*lit.*, by keeping back or hiding); they never desist from doing what they set their minds on. It is men who possess such a nature that accomplish many a great undertaking in this world. But we must say, for the sake of truth, that obstinacy is the principal fault of men of this class. Lord Curzon was such a man. There are no two opinions about Lord Curzon's extraordinary abilities, his incomparable talent, and his capacity for work, but it can also by no means be denied that his obstinacy is his principal fault. Had not Lord Curzon been obstinate, his name would perhaps have been as much honoured in this country as the name of Lord Ripon. We have been sorry to find some little proof of this same obstinacy in the nature of Sir Edward Baker also.

It now remains for nobody to be convinced that the diabolical murder which has been committed in England is the outcome of a personal quarrel

between Dhingra and Sir Curzon-Wyllie. This was said beforehand by the people of the country, and the English Police have now said the same thing. We are, therefore, obliged to say that the angry glance which Sir Edward Baker has cast on all people of the country in connection with this murder has been uncalled for and at the same time unbecoming of the ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. To take the people of the country to task for an incident for which they are not at all to blame may become an irresponsible Anglo-Indian editor, but does not become a ruler. There is no doubt that Sir Edward's words have pained the people of the country. We think that such a reddening of eyes, such threats by the authorities, cause immense harm to the country. Before and immediately after the partition of Bengal Lord Curzon wanted to frighten the people of the country by a show of anger in a similar way, wanted to stop the mouths of all by threats in a similar way. The sight of the frightful aspect which Lord Curzon manifested at Dacca and Mymensingh no doubt frightened many people, but it failed to check the fierce agitation against the partition of Bengal. Lord Curzon's favourite disciple, Sir B. Fuller, also followed this policy and, on going to Barisal, insulted the popular leaders of the place. The effect was that Sir Bampfylde had to leave this country, in a manner disgraced. We are sorry to see Sir Edward Baker following the policy of Curzon and Fuller. Men so capable, possessed of keen intelligence, clever and able in all respects as the present ruler of Bengal is, are rare. The people of the country heaved a sigh of relief when Sir Edward Baker took charge of the government of Bengal after Sir Andrew Fraser. The knowledge that Sir Edward was not a puppet moved by the hands of others soothed (literally brought water to) the hearts of the people of the country. Everyone thought that there would be an end of oppression and injustice, that no one would have any longer to live in fear of the police. But the sight of Sir Edward suddenly showing an angry mood without any cause has no doubt brought about a change of feeling in the minds of the people. This show of anger has not been becoming of a popular ruler.

We have been saying from the very beginning that if there are people in the country who do not respect the law (or) want to bring about a revolution, Government may chastise them and punish them, and no one will object to it. But if all people of the country, both innocent and guilty, have to suffer for offences committed by such men, then the misery (caused) will know no bounds. With the exception of a few youths who have gone astray, all people of the country are peace-loving, all pass their lives accepting the laws made by the rulers with heads bowed down. It must be said for the sake of truth that now-a-days innocent people are being constantly oppressed for the guilt of those few men, as well as in consequence of want of judgment on the part of the ruling community. Every one hoped that during Sir Edward Baker's régime there would be no more oppression of innocent people. But the hint that he has given the other day has raised the fear in many people's minds that oppression and injustice will increase in consequence of it. For, as they say, Rama alone was sufficient for mischief, he had now got Sugriva (the monkey-chief who helped him); and so what the police who are all-in-all in this country have been doing day and night has itself made the people of the country cry "save, save," and it is even hard to imagine what may possibly happen after that hint from the master. It must consequently be said that this display of anger by Sir Edward Baker has done immense harm to the country.

We again say that we do not wish for a revolution, nor desire the subversion of British rule; we want justice, we want sound judgment on the part of the rulers. If even after this plain-speaking on the part of our countrymen the authorities (continue to) frown, then there is no other means left. People's feeling about a disease for which there is no remedy, becomes at last one indicative of indifference. We are willing to render help to (every) just work of the authorities by all means, but if even in spite of that they redden their eyes, we have perforce to say:—

"I am not a child born in the eight month (of conception); reddening of eyes will not frighten me."

Just as Ramprasad, though a devotee of the Mother (Kali), at last pained at the Mother's cruelty, sang this song, so we too, though well-wishers of the

British Empire, pained by the unjust angry look of the authorities, are repeating Ramprasad's song.

The Lieutenant-Governor has said that perhaps in future such a state of things will come to pass, that no distinction will be made between the guilty and the innocent. We say over and over again that this has been unbecoming on the part of a man like Sir Edward, who is the ruler of our destinies. And if what he has said really happens, nothing will be more regrettable than that. But the point is, even if it happens, how can we help it? If the English assume a frightful aspect without judgment, dumb Indians, robbed of our all, as we are, how can we help it in any way? Suffer we must; it is to suffer that we have come, so that there is not much anxiety on that account. But then whether it be Sir Edward or some other man, it would be well for them to know at the time of showing their anger that the people of this country have now become accustomed to suffer misery. We are no longer sorry for misery. We have now learnt to mix our voice with that of Ramprasad and sing:—

“Do I fear misery?”

We are now in such a condition that—

“Misery goes before and behind us;
Of miseries we hold a market.”

Misery has now become an object of pride for us.

To the inhabitants of the universe we can now show that (while)—

“People boast of their being in happiness,
We take pride in misery.”

So that, instead of being much depressed by the unjust show of anger on the part of Sir Edward, we boastfully say to-day—

“Let me see how much more suffering you can bring (on us).”

But we say this beforehand that we are going to endure this misery and must endure it. Sitting on the brink of death, we are now free from the fear of death, but that death will proclaim the ill-name of the English alone.

24. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July writes as follows under the heading:—“No distinction will be made between the guilty and the innocent”:—

The Lieutenant-Governor on the London assassinations.

In the meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council held on the 13th July last, the Hon'ble Mr. Madhusudan Das, and after him, the Lieutenant-Governor expressed their exceeding regret at the inconceivable assassination of Sir Curzon-Wyllie in London and, on the assumption, that the assassination had been prompted by political motives, expressed their fierce indignation against the people of this country. After a lengthy preface in which he adverted to diverse topics, Mr. Das said that people had formed an erroneous notion of patriotism, and that a desire to earn cheaply the name of a patriot had been awakened in the hearts of many a person. For this notion and the consequent assassinations the India Office or the Government of India was in no way responsible: it is the Indians themselves who were responsible for the spread of these anarchical ideas. He also stated elsewhere that it behoved to our leaders and especially those who had acquired an ascendancy over the public by means of speeches or journalistic avocation or in any other way, express in unequivocal language their deep detestation of these sinful acts as well as of the sinners. From a perusal of Mr. Das's speech it would appear as if the recent London assassination had its origin in political causes; as if our leaders were responsible for this and other assassinations, and as if they had not so long condemned these misdeeds with a feeling of deep detestation. Mr. Das is a native of the country, and we fail to understand why, though fully aware of the state of affairs in the country, he should have endeavoured to further incense against the people the already displeased Government. But he has done greater mischief indirectly than what he has done directly. Uniting his voice with Mr. Das's Sir Edward Baker has attacked, and at last threatened, the people of the country in fierce, cruel and angry spirit which must cause serious anxiety. The Lieutenant-Governor admits that whenever any murder has taken place the people of this country have everywhere condemned it on the platform and in the press. But he is

not satisfied with this. Uniting his voice with that of Mr. Gokhle, His Honour says:—

“It has been pointed out that the time has come when something much more than denunciation is required. The time has come for action.

He Mr. Gokhle) has laid down with perfect clearness the lines on which the people of India must act, if they desire to put a peremptory end to these illaimed atrocities whose only consequence must be the holding back of the national advancement of the country. They must not be content merely to talk. They must organise an active and universal campaign of co-operation with the Government. Parents and guardians must act. Those who hold the conduct of education in their hands must act. Above all, the student community itself must act.”

His Honour at last indignantly concluded as follows:—

“But if they fail to use the peaceful weapon that lies ready in their hands, if they abdicate their authority in favour of a handful of young men of immature age, of imperfect or non-existent education and of undisciplined emotions, they may rest assured the solution will come none the less, but it will be neither painless nor peaceful, and that in the application of the remedy there will be little room for nice discrimination between innocent and the guilty.”

Why Sir Edward Baker should have under the influence of anger expressed himself in this fashion as President of the Council, is a manner utterly unbecoming of his high dignity is more than we can understand. From what the Lieutenant-Governor has said, it would appear as if this London assassination was connected with politics. We are all ashamed of and sorry for the misdeed committed by an Indian student in London; the Indians have with one voice expressed their reject and sorrow at this and other political assassinations. A Punjabi youth has, we know not why, murdered a man in London, and we fail to make out why for this the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal should glare on the people with reddened eyes. He is our ruler. Since his assumption of the administration, the Bengalis have, with one voice, been praising his liberality of views, his intelligence, his patience and his calmness. It is he who should defend us against any unjust aspersion. But instead of doing this, he has not scrupled to attack us unjustly himself. There is no doubt that several impatient youths in Bengal were implicated in Political murders, and for this we are exceedingly sorry. We have always said that national awakening is a sacred mission, and that success is not to be achieved in the striving after nationality by the commission of sinful acts. The Bengalis have always strongly protested against and condemned such misdeeds. Why has the ruler of Bengal then attacked us so fiercely, what connection have the people of Bengal with the incident to which his speech referred? What need was there for such a speech in the Legislative Council of Bengal? Following Mr. Gokhle the Lieutenant-Governor has said that the time for making speeches is gone and the time for an active campaign of co-operation with Government for the prevention of such misdeeds has come. But neither Mr. Gokhle nor the Lieutenant-Governor has indicated to us the way in which we should act. They have only said that students, teachers, parents and guardians should all set to work. But how are we to act and in what way are we to help Government? We fail to see, and Government has not been able to point out to us, how it is possible for people to co-operate with Government without holding any responsible administrative office or enjoying any the least measure of its confidence. Finally, the Lieutenant-Governor has held out to us a terrific threat. He has said that if the people do nothing, the Government will of course adopt measures, but those measures will neither be peaceful nor always admit of a nice discrimination between the guilty and the innocent. We do not know what to say to this intimidation by the Lieutenant-Governor. Ever since Government initiated its policy of repression a nice discrimination between the guilty and the innocent has in a great measure disappeared. When even saintly men like Aswinikumar and Krishnakumar have been deported without trial and without any offence on their part how can we say that Government does at all time make a discrimination between the guilty and the innocent? Those godly personages who has always lived in obedience to God and have driven heart and soul to reclaim the youths of this country, who have even

in the present agitation striven hard by speech, writing as well as example to exhort young men to eschew evil ways in serving their country, have been deported and Government does not dare to give out why they have been deported. When those who have always strongly condemned such misdeeds have incurred the displeasure of Government, how shall we say that Government always discriminates between the guilty and the innocent? We do not know at whose instigation and by whose secret advice these godly persons without any touch of sin have been deported by Government. If these men had not been deported, they would have come forward to bring back erring youths to the path of rectitude. But to-day their voice is mute, their pens silent, and the way in which Government proposes to amend the Police law bids fair to make us all tongue-tied.

Is the new Police Bill the first step in the course of action threatened by the Lieutenant-Governor? We do not wish to criticise here the Police Bill. But the way in which the Police Act is proposed to be amended will leave our honour and meetings completely at the mercy of a Police Sub-Inspector. Government wants to increase the powers of the Police in Calcutta. Are the powers already possessed by the police small? Is it not a fact that the Bengal Police abuse such powers as they already possess? The Beadon Square riots have shown us of what stuff the Indian Police are made. Have not the Midnapore Bomb case, the Bahra Dacoity, the Bighati dacoity, the Natore Mail looting case made us acquainted with the virtues of the police? If the powers of this police be further increased, all discrimination between the guilty and the innocent will indeed disappear completely. It is our interest to drive anarchy out of the land. Who will suffer from anarchy—the Government or ourselves? We want the improvement of the country, the awakening of the nation. This moribund people wants to live. This is an ordinance of Providence. We have no desire to hinder this sacred mission by any sin or misdeed. For if we do that God's blessings will not be showered on us and the rise of the nation will not be possible. We have therefore always denounced assassinations. Why is then the Lieutenant-Governor glaring on us with red eyes, why is he threatening the people of Bengal in this way for an act done by a Punjabi youth in London from private motives, and why is he trying to hinder the holding of meetings by further increasing the powers of the already all-powerful police? Does anybody ever support misdeeds in public speeches? We advise the Government to grow calm, to act coolly, to realise their responsibility as rulers of 300 millions of people, to give up the policy of repression. We will not do any immoral act. But it is true at the same time that neither the threats nor the temptations held out by Government will make us desist from the *swadeshi* agitation. This is the ordinance of Providence. That is why we ask the Lieutenant-Governor again why he has assumed so fierce an aspect, why he has held out the threat that no distinction will be made between the guilty and the innocent, why he is about to increase the powers of the police, and why he has become displeased with the people of this province for a murder committed by a Punjabi youth in London. We can discover no reason for such statements on his part. Let him repeal the partition of Bengal, release the deportees, amnesty the political offenders, desist from setting Hindus and Musalmans at possible variance by the concession of separate representation and revoke harsh laws and peace will return to the country, youths will return to the path of duty and the reforms also will bear good fruit.

JASOHAR,
July 22nd, 1909.

25. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 22nd July says:—

Sir Edward Baker's warning. The other day Sir Edward Baker said that if parents and guardians, popular leaders and the student community did not bestir themselves in the work of suppressing vagaries among the the Indian students, Government would be obliged to interfere in the matter and then it would be difficult to make any fine discrimination between the innocent and the guilty.

This statement on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor has struck everyone with wonder; because everyone thinks that it is owing to His Honour's conciliatory policy that peace has been established in Bengal. Bengal has nothing to do with the atrocious murder that has been committed in England. What then is the reason of this threat?

Sir Edward Baker has said that every community must now be active. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* fails to understand how this activity is to be shown. Should popular leaders regularly inform the Government of revolutionary conspiracies? If this is what is meant by activity, then it must be taken for granted that the popular leaders knew of the conspiracies, and have still knowledge of them. The Government perhaps thinks that conspiracies cannot exist without the knowledge of the popular leaders. The leaders are helpless in this, for they have more than once informed the Government that even the existence of these conspiracies was beyond their conception.

Sir Edward Baker has hinted that guardians do not try to keep young men under proper control. But he ought to have known that there are few guardians who can willingly send their sons or nephews to the gallows. The elder brother of Madanlal Dhingra, the murderer, had ordered his younger brother to follow the advice of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie. Did he not do the duty of a guardian? But what was the effect? Let Sir Edward Baker point out what Dhingra's brother ought to have done.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that the people of this country are not easily led to come in contact with the police, because they know that once you come in contact with the police, whether as a prisoner or as a witness or as an accused person, you will be put great trouble. Even a witness is not exempt from this persecution, because he often runs the risk of being put in danger if he refuses to depose according to the directions of the police.

Legally every subject is bound to help the Government in the work of maintaining the public peace. Government says that the Indians have always neglected to render such help to it. The Sepoy Mutiny bears evidence on this point. Englishmen have now perhaps forgotten how in those days of great peril of the British Empire the Indian people saved the lives of many Englishmen. But history will always record this truth in brilliant letters.

The *Times* of London has plainly admitted this truth. It is said that Bengalis are dissatisfied with the British rule, because it was they who at one time gave shelter to the English and helped them in the establishment of supremacy and Government.

If it is true that the Bengalis, who at one time helped the English in establishing their Empire, and even at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny saved the Empire from ruin, are now really unwilling to help the Government, then who are to blame for this?

Want of respect breeds distrust. There can be no respect without equality and liberty. So long as the English kept up the condition of equality which had marked the relation between the English and the Indians at the beginning of British rule in India, so long the English got the respect of the Indians. And all the present troubles are due to an absence of this condition of equality. Let the English re-establish that condition of equality, and they will again have the respect of the Indians and peace will be re-established in the country.

How is equality established? It is maintained if no distinction is observed between whitemen and blackmen in dispensation of justice, in laws and regulations, in manners and behaviour and in general administration. Where is this equality now?

In the new reform law Government has placed itself in an unenviable position by trying to give more power to Musalmans than to Hindus considering the respective numerical strength of the two communities. Recently the Jains have asked for a distinctive place in Legislative Councils. Wherein are they inferior in population and influence? The demand is no doubt reasonable.

In India both the communities of Hindus and Musalmans have been demanding political privileges, and Government also has always considered the two peoples as together forming the Indian nation. No other Indian community has so long objected to this. But by pampering the Musalmans in their unjust demand, Government has encouraged other communities also to make demands for themselves. What wonder then that now innumerable other communities in India, such as the Christian community, the Parsi community, the Sikh community, etc., will also trouble the Government.

It is now necessary to consider how much truth there is in the statement which Sir Edward Baker has made in disgust and from an

impulse. We must admit that, if in the work of expunging an evil and a sin from a community, no distinction is made between the innocent and the guilty in meting out punishments, then the high ideal of law cannot be maintained. When everyone comes to know that the innocent are in all circumstances to suffer equally with the guilty, then people consider it more desirable to suffer for offence really committed. Besides this, when people will come to realise that no distinction is made between justice and injustice, they will not be easily led to take the shelter of law-courts even if oppressed and subjected to unjust treatment. At the present time a feeling of disgust and distrust against the judiciary was being formed in the minds of both the educated and the uneducated in the country. Had it not been for the High Court and the even dispensation of justice by it, many people would probably have given up seeking justice in Law Courts. We would like to put one question to Sir Edward Baker. If it becomes impossible for the Government to find out who are guilty and who are innocent, what then is the necessity of maintaining the Indian Police, the Detective Police and the Criminal Investigation Department? Four days after the murder of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, the Detective Police of England gave the information that the murder was not due to any political motive, but was committed purely out of a personal grudge. A similar incident in India would have led to endless domiciliary searches and arrests, and perhaps all to no purpose.

So far as we can judge, the rise of this new troublesome and sinful spirit among youngmen is due to the godless education which they receive. It would not, however, be judicious to apply harsh repressive measures against the whole nation for the sin of a few misguided youths.

National progress requires hard struggle and immense self-sacrifice in every department of life. In India only a beginning has been made in establishing the foundation of a national life. The darkness of night has not yet been expelled. Even now thousands of reforms in the country are being left unaccomplished for want of workers. Even now we are failing to establish any business satisfactorily by unity between ourselves. If at this time we have recourse to unruliness and wanton vagaries we shall follow the path of sure destruction and no one will be able to save us.

HITAVADI,
July 23rd, 1909.

26. In commenting on Sir Edward Baker's recent speech in Council on anarchy, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July

Sir Edward Baker's recent speech in Council. writes :—

Like Sir Edward Baker nobody likes to see murders committed and sit inactive. But then His Honour wants not merely words but acts. But what are these acts? His Honour would be glad if a tremendous agitation were set up in the country by the leaders to induce, both by precept and by example, the Indian public to assist Government. Otherwise the wheels of the administrative machine will grind the people of India mercilessly down. This we understand. We also infer from Sir Edward's speech that the extremists have incurred His Honour's serious displeasure. But may we ask what tittle of right we possess to discharge the duty to which Sir Edward refers?

We have been repeatedly told that in England the people help the police and the Government and our officials counsel us to imitate the English public in this respect. But when offering this advice, these men evidently deliberately forget the difference between the Government here and the Government of England—a difference equal to that between heaven and hell. We are to assist the officials in putting down the unrest, like the English people; but if we pray for rights similar to those of the English people, the officials get angry beyond measure, and emphatically state that we are never to have those rights. What sort of logic is this?

In England the Government is conducted by the representatives of the people themselves, and as such regarded with affection and attachment by them. In India the conditions are reversed. The officials regard themselves as the masters of the people, not their servants, and in most cases disregard the latter's wishes and wants. Many of them indeed hate to speak with the people. It is part of human nature not to regard with affection and attachment an object which they do not like as their own. But can a Bengali regard the Government in this light after the experience of the Partition? The

revelations in the Barra, Midnapore and Natore Mail Robbery cases show that the Police are particularly apt in suborning witnesses and getting the innocent into trouble. Nevertheless, Government wants to add to the powers of the police. Would this be possible if the rulers had been representatives of the people? This shows that if the affection of the people is to be secured it will not do simply to use threats. It is a mistake on Sir Edward's part to secure attachment by means of threats. And after all, what is the use of threats to us! We are undergoing sufferings enough not to be afraid of any addition to them. Sir Andrew Fraser has left a name behind him by deporting Aswini Babu and others, and probably Sir Edward Baker will do the same. It was unworthy of Sir Edward Baker to lay all the blame on the people and say nothing of the ill-behaviour and incompetence of the officials. For these officials have as much responsibility for promoting good feeling between themselves and the people as the former. What has Government done to attract the attachment of the people? We see the slightest back-sliding on the part of one of ourselves punished severely, while any amount of remissness on the part of European offenders is condoned, particularly in the sphere of journalism.

27. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July writes:—

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's remarks on the London assassination.

The Under-Secretary of State for India thinks that the warning conveyed to the people of India by Sir Edward Baker in His Honour's recent speech in the Legislative Council is quite becoming in an intelligent person like him is and that the present times justify such a warning. Even his worst enemies must admit that Sir Edward Baker is an intelligent person, but what we have to discuss here is whether his utterances have any justification in the present situation.

Certain officials have been rather too much nervous at the way in which the people of this country are protesting against the unjust acts of the Government, and at the new awakening which has taken place among them (the people). These officials call the present signs of the awakening of the national life as the symptoms of unrest. No right-thinking Indian has ever had any connection with assassinations, and such acts have ever been abhorred by the people of this country, except one or two unruly youths. But it cannot surely be wise to accuse the entire population of sympathy with the demons in human form who commit assassinations. No one is aware of the existence of any unrest in Bengal at the present moment, and we fail to see what object the Lieutenant-Governor can have in view in warning the people as he has done.

In spite of his possessing many virtues Sir Edward Baker is hot-tempered, and that to an excessive degree. In fact he is sometimes led away by his temper into saying things which ought not to be said. In the course of his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council in connection with the Seditious Meetings Bill, Sir Edward Baker said: "We do not care if sedition goes underground." Dr. Rasbehari Ghosh protested against that Bill as an unduly harsh and repressive measure which had no justification in the existing circumstances and which was likely to make people desperate.

We should like to know what there is in the present situation which made it necessary for Sir Edward Baker to say what he said in the speech above referred to. The people who live under His Honour's administration are obeying the law silently, and there is no sign of any unrest anywhere in the province. How does he, then, think it proper to hold out the threat that the guilty and the innocent will be persecuted indiscriminately? Unless Sir Edward Baker explains the reason of this threat the public will draw their own conclusions? Mischievous people have already begun to put a sinister meaning on his utterances. Some say that he means to put a stop to the Boycott celebration, but we refuse to believe in such an insinuation.

28. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 24th July has the following under the heading "The Terror" in reference to Sir Edward Baker's recent speech in Council on anarchism:—

Sir Edward Baker's speech at the Legislative Council.

We shall not deny that this utterance of Sir Edward Baker's appears to us in the light of a bolt from the blue. In the interests of truth we have to

NAYAK,
July 23rd, 1909.

BASUMATI,
July 24th, 1909.

say that an utterance like "There will be little room for nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty" is under no provocation becoming in a Provincial ruler. Neither shall we conceal that Bengalis have been astounded at this terrible threat, startled in amazement threat.

This utterance of Sir Edward Baker's is not in accordance with the policy which His Honour has been, so long since his ascent to the masnad of Bengal pursuing. We have so far whole-heartedly supported Sir Edward Baker's policy of administration. It is true that the quartering of punitive police (along the Eastern Bengal State Railway) and the institution of an official enquiry (into the incidents) at Midnapore did lead to a difference of opinion between him and the people of the country, but Bengalis understood that the posting of punitive police was the inevitable result of the policy which Government has always been acting on. The Midnapore inquiry has, at the roar of the Civilian coteries, come to be perverted in form. Under the present system of government in India any wholesale change in the radical principles of rule is beyond the capacity of any official whatever.

The path which Sir Edward had been treading was the one conducive to good government. The policy of liberalism, benignant (lit., soothing) with sympathy, is indispensable to the conciliation of the people. The entire population of the country has been captivated by Sir Edward's heartfelt sympathy and has become partial to him therefor. As a result thereof, the night of unrest terminated, and dawn in the shape of peace broke on agitated Bengal. Will the sun's rays of that dawn set in darkness owing to the untimely appearance of clouds on the horizon in the shape of threats? Does these threats of Sir Edward foreshadow future days of trouble?

We imagine that can never be possible—this threat is not the foreshadowing of a policy of repression (lit., anger). We imagine that the recollection of the lamentable story of the hideous and cruel London murders excited Sir Edward a bit and upset (lit., made to overflow) his natural calmness, patience and self-restraint a little. Hence this sudden manifestation (lit., coming together) of harshness and severity in this advice. Such a supposition is not the fleeting bubble of a far-fetched fancy or wholly unnatural. We firmly believe that Sir Edward, sympathetic, calm, collected, far-seeing, wise and possessing a thorough knowledge of human character and of statesmanship will never be able to support a policy of repression. We think that this wholly impossible thing can never come to happen even in this land of Bengal, which has been a theatre of strange incidents.

The advice which Sir Edward gave at the Legislative Council is most proper. Let this poison be nipped in the bud—this is what the people of the country desire. On this subject there can be no difference of views between him and any one save a lunatic.

But this advice of Sir Edward's indicates that it is his belief that the people of the country are indifferent and inactive in this matter—that the people of India are ready to speak (lit., spend words), but are not prepared to act (lit. advance to the field of activity). Is this true? Is there any justification for such an inference?

Do those youths who have gone astray, who betake themselves to secret murders and pollute their hands with human blood, act in that manner (lit., step along that path) with the assent, knowledge and approval of their superiors, their guardians, their leaders, in the domain of eloquence, and their friends and fellow-students? It appears that the innumerable clever spies of the Detective Police are unable to discover their hidden purposes and mysteries. Cannot those who can deceive the eagle eyes and the crooked intelligence of the spies, throw dust in the eyes of their revered ones, their guardians, their teachers and their associates? Did the revolutionaries Khudiram, Prafulla Chaki, Charu and others become followers of the revolutionary creed or set themselves to commit murders on the suggestion and with the approval or knowledge of their superiors and guardians? Where the spies who constitute the eyes of the State are blind, can the helpless superior or guardian, tired with working for a livelihood, come to possess eyes gifted with superhuman insight? Can that be possible?

Officials and Englishmen in this country often say that the people of the country are most unwilling, indifferent and inactive in the matter of putting down sedition and revolution. Is this true? Government and the English generally ask the people of the country to pluck the revolutionaries by the root (so to speak), but they never lay down any means for doing so. Let Government point out the means and the people of the country will assist them.

Gokhale, Surendra Nath and others have called on the people of the country to come forward to put down anarchy. That also is indicative of love of peace, of ill-feeling towards anarchy on the part of the leaders and the people of the country. Can Government or the English public deny this?

In response to Sir Edward Baker's threatening utterances we have got to say that there is no difference of opinion between the rulers and the ruled as to the necessity for rooting out and putting down anarchy and revolution. None but a lunatic will deny that it is the duty of the rulers to provide for the preservation of the peace in the country, the upholding of order, and of the absolute prevention (lit., destruction) of hideous incidents like murder, etc. But it is not proper for the rulers to follow a policy of repression with this object. On no account whatever can it be in accordance with a ruler's duty to inaugurate measures which make the harassment of the innocent possible along with that of the guilty. Let a thousand guilty men go scot-free, nevertheless let not a single innocent man be punished—this is the radical principle of English laws. On no account, not even for the destruction of anarchy, is it proper to do away with this radical principle. For it is on the basis of this high principle that the British Empire in India has been established. Neither the rulers nor the ruled, no party will be gainers by impairing (the full validity of) this principle, and so buying glass in exchange for gold.

In the interests of truth and a desire for the welfare of the Empire, we ask Sir Edward Baker to remember one thing more. Bengal has before this quaked under an unrestrained manifestation (literally, unrestrained dance) of a policy of repression. A good many of her inoffensive, unoffending, peaceful and innocent inhabitants were crushed under the hard wheels of a policy of repression. Let Sir Edward reflect calmly if that repressive policy of Sir J. B. Fuller and Sir Andrew Fraser has succeeded.

Admitting for the sake of argument that what the detectives say is true, that what the English apprehended is well-founded, that even now in this country a conspiracy is spreading its ramifications (literally, roots) underground in a thousand directions, even then, what we ask is if this policy of repression is what will succeed in rooting out that conspiracy. Are measures which render it inevitable that the innocent should suffer harassment along with the guilty, adequate for the destruction and suppression of anarchy, revolution, sedition, murder, assassination and other hellish deeds (literally, sports)?

Has not the policy which Sir Edward has followed resulted in bringing about the beginnings of a soothing peace in the agitated Bengal? Was that policy a policy of repression? Has that creed of sympathy, of love and of justice proved ineffective?

To harass a thousand inoffensive, unoffending innocent men for the offence of a single guilty man will not be a new incident in this country either. By the posting of punitive police forces for the offence of one man or of a handful, thousands of inoffensive citizens are being harassed. A good many men accused in the Alipur and Midnapore Bomb cases and in a large number of dacoity and *swadeshi* cases having been proved innocent in the English Courts of Justice, have been released. It is undeniable that the sufferings they underwent because of their *karma* constituted a harassment of the innocent. It appears that arrangements already exist which make the harassment possible. But in spite of their existence, Sir Edward Baker has got a new occasion for inaugurating a policy of repression. Does not this very fact prove that a policy of repression is wholly ineffective in the circumstances?

Men can be regulated by harsh control, can be crushed by a terrific and unrestrained manifestation of a policy of repression, but the iron chain which can bring under control men's minds is still very rare on earth. The mind cannot be severed, separated or kept in endurance in any prison.

The facts regarding the mind are as much true and apparent, as are the laws of the rulers. The rulers themselves have to obey the cardinal principles of the fact relating to the mind. No ruling Power can change the radical principle underlying the facts relating to the mind—the nature and characteristics of the human mind cannot be altered by any form of chastisement or severity. Men's mind can be perverted or terrified by a repressive régime, but they do not thereby come to be filled with the nectar of attachment and good-feeling.

Under this immutable law of nature, Sir B. Fuller and Sir Andrew's repressive régime proved of no avail. It is in accordance with this law of nature that Sir Edward's comparatively more soothing rule has approached success in a short while. Sir Edward is not unacquainted with this mystery of the human nature. That is why he poured the revivifying labour of sympathy on the wound in the hearts of the people, harassed by a repressive régime. We believe this policy of Sir Edward's will never go in vain. Conciliation of the people can never go for nothing. Hence it is we wish: "Let the rulers devote themselves to the good of the people." This is the one way of conciliating the people, of establishing peace, of putting down lawlessness.

We hope Sir Edward will not jeopardise (literally, place obstacle in the path of) the advance of the Bengalis and the success of English rule, by abandoning that course. We repeat a policy of repression is not the fountain from which peace jets forth, a policy of repression is not the means to put down anarchy, the history of the world and the truths relating to the minds of man on earth impartially bear out this. No policy, no political system ever approached, nor will ever approach, fulfilment by trampling on the lessons of history. The wisdom of the world proclaims this unhesitatingly even in this land of Bengalis, tied in tight (literally, snaky) coils. We hope Sir Edward, experienced as he is, will not trample on the heartfelt good-feeling towards him in the hearts of the Bengalis by forgetting this priceless lesson of history.

HINDUSTHAN,
July 24th, 1909.

29. Referring to the agitation over Sir Edward Baker's recent speech on the Dhingra murder, the *Hindusthan* [Calcutta] of the 24th July says that it is useless to run mad after what one has said or not said. It would be better

What the people should do after
Sir Baker's threat.

to behave so as not to give anybody an opportunity to say anything undesirable. The Bengalis give place to none in prattling. It is time that they should be silent, and with loyal hearts peacefully engage themselves in doing their one duty, bettering their own condition, working for the benefit of their neighbours, serving their co-villagers, countrymen and all Indians, advancing the cause of arts and industries, and killing, by the light of knowledge, the prejudices in which the people of the country now lie completely steeped. The rulers will become quiet if they see the subjects quiet. Happily, the eyes of the Bengalis are being gradually opened.

BIR BHARAT,
July 25th, 1909.

30. The recent speech of Sir Edward Baker in the Legislative Council, says the *Lir Bharat* [Calcutta] of the 25th July, has terrified the Indians and pained some Englishmen

Threat of repression.

too, at home. His Honour seems to consider the public denunciations of the dastardly murder of Sir Wyllie and others as a huge sham. The words uttered by His Honour imply that Government would make all possible endeavours to prevent secret murders, and, if the people will not cooperate with it, it would pass Acts which would grind down the guilty as well as the innocent. The Anglo-Indian papers have been instigating the Government to do it. Though His Honour has been living with us for a long time, he has not yet been able to know us: although our countrymen have serious grievances under the British rule, they never wish for the extinction of that rule.

The Government may do what it likes for the suppression of anarchism, but what we wish is that any steps that it may necessary for it to take in this direction should be taken after due deliberation. We do not know how we are to offer our help to the Government. The Lieutenant-Governor has said that the people should be reminded of the fact that secret murders and other such crimes are extremely prejudicial to their interests. We shall be ready to follow the instructions of His Honour, if he would only let us know clearly

the way in which we are to convey the idea to the people. We have been trying our best to allay the present unrest in the country; but if our efforts in this direction are held in suspicion by our rulers, it is due to our ill-luck. His Honour has justly remarked that in order to promote the good-will between the rulers and the ruled, the leaders should use their influence with the people in creating confidence in the British rule. But we would ask has the Government listened to the leaders? Has it paid any attention to such matters as have given a shock to the hearts of the people even after they have been repeatedly brought to its notice by the leaders? To take a specific instance, the leaders advised the people to remain under the bounds of the law in their agitation against the partition of Bengal, for this would draw the attention of the Government to their grievance; but the Government remained unmoved by the painful cries of the people and the recommendations of their leaders. With what excuse can the leaders now approach the people?

It looks like something impossible to think that while the rulers should be trampling down the opinion of their subjects, and the latter should be following them blindly with bowed heads. Sir Edward Baker has asked the leaders for co-operation with him. We are compelled to say that so long as the Government will not listen to the prayers of the people, respect their opinion and give consideration to questions connected with their welfare so long it will be difficult to persuade them to banish from their minds the misunderstanding against Government under which they are at present labouring. The Bengalis and the Indians may be ground down under the pressure of the law, but so long as the present form of administration is not changed, there can be no hope of a permanent peace in the country. If the Government is really desirous of restoring it, it should first of all undo the partition of Bengal and thereby appease the Bengalis; it should then reform the police, whose oppression is being sorely felt by the people. These being done, it is hoped that peace will soon begin to reign in the country.

31. Bengal, writes the *Jagaran* [Bagerhat] of the 25th July, was returning to peace through the benign rule of Sir Edward Baker and the even dispensation of justice by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, when the atrocious murder of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie took place in England. Such a cruel murder, such causeless shedding of blood, is against the instinct and training of Indians. The code of morality, the religion, the *shastras* and the philosophy of India have never taught murder. And all India has been thunderstruck at the sad news from London. A party of white men in England have, however, discovered a germ of rebellion in the murder, and, by an unprecedented coup of imagination, decided that all Indians are hatching a widespread rebellion.

The loyal leader of Bombay, Mr. Gokhale, has said that all Indians should now combine to prevent a recurrence of such atrocious deeds. Bravo to the intelligence of Bombay. How can the Indians prevent these misdeeds? Are they trying to commit such deeds? Have any murderous associations been formed with their knowledge? If a few misguided youths have any concern with such deeds, how can common people know of it. Have the public men of India, as, for instance, Mr. Gokhale himself, any connection with such miscreants? In India hundreds of people are being yearly hanged for man-slaughter. But does any one expect that by such means murder will be stamped out of the face of India. Sir Edward Baker has mixed his voice with that of Mr. Gokhale and said that, if the Indians would remain indifferent, Government would introduce such severe measures as would make it impossible to make any fine discrimination between the guilty and the innocent. This threat by the Lieutenant-Governor has created a commotion in the country, and every one is taxing his brains to find out its real meaning. But we are of opinion that none but His Honour can explain the meaning of what he has said. Again, if the threat is intended to be carried out, what can we do, and what have we to do? When we do not know anybody who is implicated in the crimes or who may have instigated them, how and whom shall we hand over to the authorities? However that may be, the Alipur Bomb case, the Barrah and Bighati dacoity cases, etc., and the practice of quartering Punitive Police forces prove that Sir Edward Baker's threat need not be altogether

JAGARAN,
July 25th, 1909.

idle, and that when the authorities become determined to repress, they make no distinction between the innocent and the guilty. The threat may startle and frighten us, but we cannot escape from oppression. We firmly believe that no sane or God-fearing man can have any sympathy with murderers like Dhingra, and that no good can come from a sinful act. We beseech the student community of India to view such misdeed as Dhingra has committed with the utmost disgust and hatred. We must also say for the sake of truth that no connection has as yet been found between the London murder and any man in India, and that so long as such a connection is not established, Mr. Gokhale's speech and Sir Edward Baker's threat will remain unjust and uncalled-for. There is, however, another side of the threat. It may be meant to be a mere threat, not intended to be carried out. Kind-hearted as His Honour is, it may be that he is only following the example of a teacher who, guided by a desire to do good, only raises his rod, but never strikes. It may be that His Honour knows full well that repeated striking only makes one callous and more and more unruly. Whatever others may say, we believe his threat will only end in smoke, for it will be against his nature to give effect to it. We are, nevertheless, of opinion as the ruler of a Province, he ought not to have given expression to it. The people of this country have done, and are still prepared to do, what lies in their power to prevent outburst of murder or fanaticism. They can be rightly blamed only if they stand in the way of bringing offenders to punishment. But should they be oppressed and persecuted, if the rulers and guards of the country fail to detect guilty persons? Should the principle of justice on which British rule in India is founded be trampled under foot on this account? We hope that His Honour will correct the mistake that he has done. If he does so, it will only prove the greatness of his heart and at the same time allay the panic that has seized the people of the country.

MEDINI BANDHAY,
July 12th, 1909.

32. Anent the Midnapore inquiry, the *Medini Bandhav* [Midnapore] of the 12th July (received on the 26th July) writes:—

The Midnapore inquiry.

While Moulvi Muzrul Huq, Inspector Lal Mohan and Mr. Weston were allowed to cross-examine the witnesses who gave evidence against them, Mr. Macpherson did not permit the witnesses for the Police to be cross-examined by the other side. Babus Bipin Chandra Ghosh, Upendra Nath Ghosh, Pyari Lal Ghosh and Upendra Nath Maiti applied to the Commissioner that at least one of them might be allowed to be present when the depositions of the witnesses for the Police would be taken to cross-examine those witnesses, but the wise and experienced Commissioner did not care even to reply to their application. The enquiry is, in fact, going to be rather onesided. Mr. Macpherson is known to be an able officer, with 31 years' experience behind him. It now remains to be seen what the result of all his ability and experience comes to be.

HINDUSTHAN,
July 24th, 1909.

33. The *Hindusthan* [Calcutta] of the 24th July says:—

The Midnapore enquiry.

The reader has seen the substance of the Resolution which Sir Edward Baker, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, published at the time of giving Mr. Macpherson, Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, the charge of enquiring into the conduct of the Midnapore Police and officials in connection with the bomb case. The plan, method and purpose of the enquiry were first of all kept secret, but were afterwards given out in the Bengal Legislative Council through the auspices of the Maharaja of Burdwan. It is in this manner that the mystery has been revealed to the reader. In the memorandum of instructions for the inquiry, the Lieutenant-Governor has said that the inquiry will not be restricted to the conduct and methods of the lords of the police and officials, that the charge of conspiracy which was brought will also be enquired into, and that the conduct of those who were included in the list of conspirators and were accused and sent to *hajut* but released before trial will also form a subject of the inquiry.

Those who rejoiced on the idea that the inquiry would be restricted to the conduct and doings of the police and officials, and wanted to support the holding of the inquiry, saw only one side of the matter. But we entered into

the mystery of the Resolution of the Lieutenant-Governor, and said: "Great is the cause for fear. It is not impossible that everything will again begin from the beginning."

When Mr. Sinha, Advocate-General, released 24 of the persons accused in the bomb case, he plainly said that the release did not ensure their safety for ever. We then advised the people of the country to restrain their rejoicings over the matter. It is not proper to dance with joy at a picture concerning futurity so long as that fearful future is not turned into a fearless past. The accused persons who had been released by the Advocate-General were called to Mr. Macpherson's inquiry and obliged to give evidence and undergo cross-examination by Huq, the chief of the police lords, and Guha, and Magistrate Weston. Pleader Maiti and others who had been formerly accused persons, were obliged to become as if accused persons again in the depositions and cross-examinations. Seeing all this, we have been compelled to think again about the purpose of the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution.

Mr. Dutt has had again to come under the cross-examination of Huq, Guha and Magistrate Weston. The object of the cross-examination is, of course, to free the lords of the police and officials from blame. But we cannot think that its main object is not also to prove the existence of the supposed conspiracy.

The Raja of Narajole and his son-in-law prayed for indemnity for the evidence that they might give. But this was refused to them. The fear of the possibility of some new prosecution in future was thus indicated in a manner. It is not yet certain what the result will be. Everything will depend on the report which Mr. Macpherson will submit. In reply to Sir Henry Cotton's questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Hobhouse has said that one of the objects of the inquiry is to prove the existence of the supposed conspiracy, and that the Government has not altogether given up the idea that such men as were not tried before a Law Court had been concerned in a conspiracy.

It cannot be that the Government is holding an inquiry regarding the supposed conspiracy without a purpose. If the conspiracy is proved fictitious in Mr. Macpherson's report, then the police and the officials concerned will be liable to punishment. But if in Mr. Macpherson's judgment the conspiracy is proved to be real, then why should Government remain inactive? We think that the released 24 have cause for fear, as well as the remaining 127 who were included in the Police list.

The ways and manners of official consideration and decision are peculiar.

The principal accused persons have been released by the High Court. But now the Government is trying to saddle the supposed conspiracy on the 24 persons who were released by Mr. Sinha and on the other 127 men. And it is for this purpose that the inquiry has been instituted.

We are of opinion that the play has reached its climax, and we have had enough of farce also. It is now high time that the curtain should be dropped. The sooner the inquiry is concluded, the better. And it would be best if the unrest is removed by the inquiry.

34. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 24th July expresses surprise and disapproval at Mr. Macpherson refusing to Babu Upendra Nath Maiti and certain others the right to cross-examine the police witnesses at the Midnapur inquiry.

BASUMATI,
July 14th, 1909.

35. Referring to the heavy mortality in Bengal during the last year as revealed in the Sanitary Commissioner's Report, the *Sri-Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July writes:—

*SRI-SRI-VISHNU
PRIYA-O-ANANDA
BAZAR PATRIKA*,
July 22nd, 1909.

It is the bouden duty of Government to take steps for the improvement of the health of the people. The lavish expenditure of money on the Pusa Agricultural College in maintaining European Professors on the new Law College and on the police ought, by all means, to be curtailed, and the money thus saved should be spent in improving the health of the people. By this means the Government would succeed in winning the hearts of the people.

HITVARTA,
July 22nd, 1909.

36. The Resolution of the Government on the report of the Sanitary Commissioner is not satisfactory, says the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July, as the mortality last year was much in excess of births. The Government, however, has extolled the Commissioner for his good work in as much as he attributed the deaths to plague, famine, etc., a fact already known. What the people want to know is what the Sanitary Department did to prevent them.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR,
July 23rd, 1909.

37. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July thus states the principles on which, in its opinion, separate representation should be granted to the Musalmans :—

(1) A list of local Musalman voters should be prepared for the purpose of the election of Musalman members to Local and Municipal Boards.

(2) Musalman members should be elected to the above Boards by such voters, and the Musalman members so elected to Local and Municipal Boards should elect from among themselves members for the District Boards.

(3) A specified number of members should be elected to the Bengal Legislative Council by the Musalman members of the District and Municipal Boards.

(4) A specified number of Musalman members should be elected to the Viceregal Legislative Council by the Musalman members of the Bengal Council.

If these principles be adopted, the Musalman idea of separate representation will be fully acted upon. But it seems that Government is hesitating to adopt these principles. It is maintaining the present system of mixed election in the Municipal and District Boards, and for conceding separate electoral bodies only for the purpose of the selection of the members which the Musalman community will be privileged to elect in excess of the number strictly warranted by their numerical strength. In that case, however, what becomes of the demand of the Musalmans as well as of the promise made by Lords Minto and Morley?

Two electoral bodies are needed for the election of Musalman members to the Viceregal Legislative Council. First, the Musalman members of the Bengal Legislative Council. Secondly, Musalman B.A.'s and M.A.'s of ten years' standing. For the election of Musalman members to the Bengal Legislative Council the following electoral bodies are needed :—

- (a) The Musalman members of District and Municipal Boards.
- (b) Musalman Fellows of the local University.
- (c) Musalman graduates of the local University of five years' standing.
- (d) Musalman land-holders with a specified income.
- (e) Musalman income-tax payers with a specified income.

A province should be divided into electoral parts according to the number of Musalman members to be elected to the Provincial Council and election held accordingly.

It may be further stated in this connections that the candidate for memberships of the Viceregal Legislative Council should be men of education, competence and social position.

These qualifications may be of a slightly lower order in the case of candidates for election to the Provincial Council.

Election should be by ballot in the case of Municipal and other Boards as well as of Councils.

If Government concedes separate representation to the Musalmans from the first to the last no electoral colleges will be needed. All that would be necessary would be to keep a register of Musalman voters for Local and other Boards as well as of Fellows and graduates of Universities and of Musalman land-holders and income-tax payers with specified incomes.

In the case of Musalmans separate representation is desirable from the first to the last.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR,
July 23rd, 1909.

38. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July says that the six gentlemen who waited upon the Viceroy at Simla as representatives of the Musalman community

had not been nominated by the Moslem League. Lord Minto wants to carry the Reform Scheme through without the necessity of any concession and wants to make use of Mr. Ali Imam as an instrument for the purpose of

moulding the scheme anew. It is not probably the intention of Government to grant separate representation and representatives in excess of the number strictly warranted by numerical strength. For Lord Minto's courage has given way before the flood of Hindu agitation. Lord Morley has thrown the entire responsibility upon Lord Minto. Mr. Ali Imam is about to oppose the League and its branch in England in the hope of obtaining some high appointment. Everybody should now see that the enemy in one's own house is the worst enemy of all. It is now clear to everybody that it is his appointment as President of the League that led to all troubles. It was solely owing to him that the Lucknow Conference ends in a fiasco. No one wants to express agreement with his views. The fate of the Musulmans now depends upon God and Lord Minto.

39. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July regards the ground on which the South Maharashtra Jaina League bases its claims to separate representation, namely, that their community never take any part in any political agitation as an absurd one.

SANJIVANI,
July 22nd, 1909.

40. The Government has created difficulties for itself by conceding to the Muhammadan demands in connection with the Reforms Scheme, so says the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 24th July in referring to the representation of the Bombay Jains since it cannot say no to them to escape the charge of partiality.

BHARAT MITRA,
July 24th, 1909.

41. The *Hindusthan* [Calcutta] of the 24th July says that it has been proposed to appoint Mr. Justice Chandravarkar and Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair to the Executive Councils of the Governors of Bombay and Madras, respectively, and asks if Mr. Nair is also a barrister-at-law as it is reported Mr. Chandravarkar is. If a similar Executive Councillor has to be taken into the new Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Dr. Ashutosh Mukherji will be the fittest person. But then the claim of barristers-at-law will have to be passed over in his case. If in consequence of this difficulty, or owing to Dr. Mukherji's unwillingness to accept a Councillorship, he does not go there, then the next man who ought to be taken in is Mr. Ashutosh Chaudhuri, barrister-at-law. We do not think that Mr. Chaudhuri is in any way inferior to Mr. Sinha.

HINDUSTHAN,
July 24th, 1909.

42. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July urges Government to open up the highest ranks to native sepoys, if it wishes to secure their loyalty in future. A policy of distrust of the people and of selfishness is at the root of half the anxieties which fill the Indian official mind.

HITAVADI,
July 23rd, 1909.

43. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 24th July regards the recent Resolution of the Government of India regarding the purchase of stationery in India as of hopeful augury, and hopes that this Resolution will be observed in practice, and not relegated to the shelf. At the same time the people of the country can, if they themselves practice this principle of using things *Swadeshi* only, afford to be indifferent to any patronage of indigenous industry by Government.

BASUMATI,
July 24th, 1909.

44. In the same connection, the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 24th July suggests that those who have been entrusted by the Government with the supply of *swadeshi* goods, should go about from village to village and encourage local artisans to manufacture such goods.

BANGAVASI,
July 24th, 1909.

III—LEGISLATION.

45. The following The Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill.

* The word "*Nagapas*" means a sort of magic missile which when flung against an enemy used to hold him in serpentine coils, the serpent being attracted to the spot by virtue of the incantations with which the weapons were flung.

is a full translation of an article under the heading "The new Serpentine* noose" which appears in the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July:—

SANJIVANI,
July 22nd, 1909.

At the last meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Edward Baker threatened us by saying that if the Government did not receive the co-operation of the people of India in the work of

administration, laws would be enacted before which the distinction between the guilty and the innocent would disappear. When we were reading that speech in the columns of a newspaper the next day, we thought that there never was born in this world as great a preacher of the doctrine of equality as the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal,—even Jesus and Rousseau not excepted,—and that it was doubtful whether (such a man) would be born even in the future. Many have tried to remove the distinction between men of high caste and men of low caste—(between) the rich and the poor; but has the grand idea of establishing a unique equality in the world by doing away with the distinctions between the guilty and the innocent, and by trampling everybody down equally weighing them in the scales entered the brain of any one before? However, we could not even at the time of reading the speech realise that that auspicious day, which had never come before, was about to come, even then we thought that whatever might happen in the distant future, there was no particular cause for fear at least for some time (literally, some days). But on turning over the pages of the *Calcutta Gazette*, we understood that the Lieutenant-Governor did not indulge in vain boasts—he appeared with the Bill right in his pocket. There is no doubt when the new Police Bill, which was introduced into the Legislative Council the other day, is passed into law all distinctions between the guilty and the innocent will be totally removed.

As regards the object of this Bill the Government say:—

The object of this bill is to introduce various amendments into the Calcutta Police Act, 1866 and the Calcutta Suburban Police Act, 1866. These acts were passed at a time when the administration of the Police Department was far less complex than it has now become, and it is necessary to amplify them by conferring power on the Police to meet various emergencies which arise at the present day.

The police who in the Comilla Murder case last year unhesitatingly arranged to hang an innocent man on the gallows, the police who did not feel scruple in getting up false evidence in the Barrah Dacoity case, Morehal case, (and) Nattore Mail Robbery case this year, the police who in the Alipore Bomb case brought up a forged letter in order to punish Srijut Aravinda Ghosh, the police whose Chief in spite of his having got no evidence against Aravinda Babu said that he (the Chief) knew everything about him, the police who kept numerous respectable gentlemen of Midnapur imprisoned for nothing, the police who did not hesitate to accord unlawful treatment to, and commit inhuman oppression upon, prisoners in *hajut*, it is that police in whose hands, the Government say, it is necessary for the proper administration of the country to place still greater powers. What is this but the limitless irony of fate? However, let the readers now have some idea of this Bill (literally, law).

In the first place, according to this Bill, any Police officer will be able to arrest without warrant a person who may be found committing on any thoroughfare or at any public place any offence prohibited by this law.

According to this law, "Police officer" will mean all officers of the police above (the rank of) ordinary constables, that is, will mean all officers from Sub-Inspectors (upwards).

"Street" will mean any alley, lane, footpath, square, or any place, whether a thoroughfare or not, to which the public may have, permanently or temporarily, a right of access.

"Public place" will imply the banks of the river, the docks, the jetties, warehouses and all other places accessible to the public for drawing water, for bathing or for purposes of recreation.

A Police officer may arrest a person as soon as he (the Police officer) suspects him of committing an offence in such places.

It was only the other day that the noble-minded Mr. Mackarness raised the proposal in Parliament, that before deporting a person he should be shown the warrant of arrest, and that his offence should be stated in that warrant. Far from making provision for showing warrants in cases where such provision does not exist, it (the provision) is going to be abolished even in cases where it did exist.

It is necessary for the sake of justice to mention here that under the Police Act of 1866 also Police officers had the authority to arrest without warrant persons committing certain offences. But it must in this connection be borne in mind that the Police Act of 1866 was created mainly for the prevention of common offences; whereas the present Bill has its origin chiefly, if not wholly, in political motives. We think that it is for the purpose of vesting the Police with extensive powers regarding political offences that this Bill has been introduced. The reader will gradually be able to see that several sections of the Bill deal with political offences and the powers of the Police in connection with them. What we have now to say is that, though Police officers may have the authority to arrest (persons) without warrant in case of ordinary offences, it is not at all proper for them to have such authority in cases of political offences. Ordinary Police officers do not possess the intelligence to know whether a certain person is guilty of any political offence. Specially so great is their temptation and zeal for arresting political offenders that it is not improbable for them to abuse the power at every step.

Reference is then made to the provisions of the new Bill which relate to the definitions of terms and the new powers which it is proposed to be conferred on the Police.

The paper then goes on thus:—

Is it necessary to explain at length the unlimited powers which have been placed in the hands of the police by these curious definitions and the above mentioned clauses? It may in short be said that if this Bill is passed into law, Police rule, instead of the rule of law, will be established in Calcutta. The right of (holding) meetings, (forming) associations (and delivering) speeches will depend on the whim and fancy of the irresponsible Sub-Inspector. It will be superfluous to say that when this law is passed, it is the Sub-Inspector who will in a sense become the master of the situation at Calcutta. According to the definition that has been given to "Public places", he may be present in anybody's house where people may happen to assemble on the occasion of any festivity—to say nothing of public places such as squares, etc.,—and he may, if anything is not done according to his sweet will, arrest the offender. Sriyat Surendra Nath truly said, in the course of a speech delivered in England the other day: "If the Englishman's house is his castle, the Indian's house is his temple." Will not a grave wrong be committed if this temple be placed in the same category as a public place and the police given free right (of access) there?

The people consider the rights of convening public meetings and of founding associations as very valuable rights. In fact it is essentially necessary for keeping the national spirit awake, and for doing various good things for the national weal that these two rights should be kept intact. But the Government have narrowed the first-named right by issuing the order for stopping meetings before sunset, and have also interfered with the second right by bringing about the ruin of undertakings of (public) utility such as the "Swades Bandhav Samity, etc." If now the new Bill is passed into law, all evils will be at an end. Who will dare to convene meetings or deliver speeches by depending upon the sweet will of the Sub-Inspector of Police?

Considering that on the one hand unbounded powers have been placed in the hands of the Police, provision ought on the other hand to have been made so that those powers might not be abused. But listen what sort of provision the Government has decided to make on the subject:—

Here follows an account of the provisions of the new Bill securing Magistrates and Police officers immunity from penalty and prosecution for acts done in good faith.

It is evident that according to this law whenever there is good faith—that is as soon as malice is not proved the police will be immune for anything (literally, will be pardoned for committing seven murders). According to this law nobody will even be allowed to bring a suit against the police unless he makes a distinct mention of malicious intent. The police will know that so long as malicious intent is not proved so long will their path be free of thorns, no matter however much they may commit wrongs. It is not a very easy thing to prove the malicious intent of any person in a matter—this the police know, the Government know it, and we also know it. Will not the inclination

of the police to tyranny increase on account of this? Indeed, if the police do not try to exercise (literally, show) their powers in spite of their being given so many opportunities, then one must say that they are perfectly stupid and thoroughly foolish.

However, we have now come face to face with a great danger. A certain contemporary says truly indeed :—

Never, since the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Act has Calcutta been face to face with a graver crisis. If the Bill be passed into law the right of public meeting will practically disappear; for a right in this country, which has to be exercised subject to the control and discretion of the Police, is a right that does not exist. A vigorous agitation therefore should immediately be set on foot to defeat the Bill.

We shall fully support the statement. Whatever be the result, we ought from now to set on foot a strong agitation against this Bill. Let the people of Calcutta awake.

SRI SRI VISHNUPRIYA
O-ANANDA BAZAR,
PATRIKA.
July 22nd, 1909.

46. The *Sri Sri Vishnupriya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July writes :—

The Calcutta and Suburban
Police (Amendment) Bill.

The proposed further increase of the powers of the Police is fraught with grave mischief. Profound peace now reigns all over Bengal. There is no sign visible of any unrest. Such a time is most inopportune for the introduction of a measure like this. We are of opinion that unrest will be caused again if the powers of the Police be increased. The intentions of the authorities in passing this Act will also be totally frustrated.

SAMAY.
July 23rd, 1909.

47. Referring to the proposed Calcutta police legislation the *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July writes :—

The new Police Bill.

The proposal to give to the Calcutta Police power to arrest without warrant seems to be open to the gravest objection. So also is the provision for searching houses. Numerous cases of thefts and dacoities are occurring all round, but to these the Government pays no attention. If there is anything smacking of politics in any quarter, all the energies of the Government are directed towards it. It must be admitted that our ill-luck is at the root of all our miseries. It is useless to find fault with Sir Edward Baker. It must be said that our paternal Government have been ill-advised in undertaking such a piece of legislation.

MARWARI.
July 23rd, 1909.

48. The *Marwari* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July says that our Lieutenant-Governor is going to increase the powers of the police by the proposed amendment of the Calcutta Police Act when there is the actual necessity of reducing them.

The terrible Bill.

BASUMATI.
July 24th, 1909.

49. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 24th July writes in connection with the impending Police legislation :—

The Calcutta and Suburban
Police (Amendment) Bill.

The police constitute the teeth and claws of the official body—the authorities govern the country with the assistance of the police—so it is not unnatural that adverse criticism of the acts of the police should agitate their minds. The recent revelations however regarding the police in connexion with the Midnapore conspiracy, the Barrah Dacoity trial, and the Nattore Mail Robbery case trial, led many to suppose that the executive authorities would frame some measure for the reform of the police. But strange and sad to say it looks as if instead of curbing the powers of the police, the authorities are determined to have them increased. It is true that the authorities have not framed any new measure for the mufassil police, but they have drafted a Bill for the Calcutta police, which was introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council on the 13th instant and referred to a Select Committee. This Bill has quite startled the people. We believe that the proposed measure will be more injurious to the just rights of the public than the existing police law. It is undeniable that this Bill adds excessively to the powers of the police. The ground which has been put forward in the Statement of Objects and Reasons justifying this addition is really amazing. It is argued that the wealth and population of Calcutta have now largely increased, and the work of the Police has come to gain a good deal in complexity since 1866, so that the old law of that year is now effete and unequal to the

government of Calcutta, so it has become necessary to place a new weapon in the hands of the police. Accordingly Mr. Duke is about to forge this new weapon on the legislative anvil. The Select Committee may make some changes in the shape of the weapon, as it has been tentatively forged by Mr. Duke. But none the less, the mere sight of the Bill, as it stands, is enough to startle one out of one's senses. A law on the lines of the present Bill obtains in Bombay city, and the *Statesman* says that in many large cities in England, the Police Acts in force are similar to this Bill. It would have been very well if the *Statesman* had instituted a comparison between the language of the present Bill and that of the English Acts. The public cannot be reassured simply by the statement that "exactly similar laws are in force in England." Another point is that it is not enough simply to point to English parallels in the matter of the laws. A comparison must also be instituted between the character and the doings of the police in this country and in England. One must further consider which of these two bodies of Police is the superior in morals and in a sense of responsibility, and which is the more controlled by public opinion. Without taking all these points into consideration, it does not avail simply to point to a superficial resemblance. Who will deny that the possibilities of mischief are aggravated a thousand fold when unlimited and uncontrolled authority is vested not in men who are superior in morals, in a sense of responsibility and of duty, and who are more under the influence of public opinion, but in men who are weaker in morals, in a sense of responsibility and of duty, and who can easily ignore public opinion? Hence the conclusion follows that laws and prohibitions must suit the time, circumstances and population of a country. Many of the "definitions" in this Bill are far too comprehensive. For instance "explosive substance" is taken to "include any materials for making any explosive substance," "also any apparatus, machine or implement" used for the purpose. The question therefore arises, if the stick, or rod used in handling the ingredients of an explosive is to be regarded as an "explosive substance," if again phials, measure-glasses, balances, etc., are to be regarded in the same light. Are also the people to be prohibited in future from burning sulphur in their rooms to prevent gnats and mosquitoes from getting troublesome, simply because sulphur is used in the preparation of explosives? Indeed the language of the Bill is such that, not to speak of sulphur and other substances, even the fire and the sun are likely to come within the range of the law.

Then, again, the expression "public place" has been given in the Bill a much wider meaning than is ordinarily given to it. The banks of the river, the docks, the jetties, warehouses, places accessible to the public for drawing water, washing or bathing, as well as schools, colleges, hospitals, bar-libraries, Railway stations, places of public worship, are all in this Bill "public places." After this, we really cannot see why the drafter of the Bill did not bring the bed chamber of a married couple as well under this definition. The definition of a 'street' is still more fine—street, lanes, foot-paths, crossings, courtyards of houses, and indeed even the staircases of houses, are not excluded from this definition. Similarly again a "Police officer" is taken to mean anybody from the Daroga up to the Commissioner of Police. This means that, under this Bill, even a Daroga Babu will get the powers of the Commissioner of Police.

We shall now proceed to give illustrations of the powers with which this Bill proposes to arm the Commissioner of Police. [Here follows a short account of the provisions of the Bill relating to the subject.]

The writer thus proceeds:—

Such is the Bill. A good deal of talk and discussion is rife in Calcutta in connexion with this strange Bill, the authorities also are trying as far as possible to get this Bill passed. We hear that the Legislative Councils will be shortly reformed under Lord Morley's reform scheme; but in the opinion of the authorities, the administration of the Police in Calcutta has suddenly become so complex that they cannot afford to wait for the reform of the Legislative Council. When things happen as the authorities will, the Bill is sure to be passed, but we shall, from a sense of duty, say a few words in regard to this Bill on a subsequent occasion.

BIHAR BANDHU,
July 24th, 1909.

50. The Government, says the *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 24th July, has introduced a terrible Bill in the Legislative Council for, should it pass into law, it will

The terrible Bill.

establish an undisputed police rule in Calcutta. It is apparent from the Barrah Dacoity and other cases that the Police is very often more an engine of oppression than protection. What was wanted then was police reforms. It is, therefore, very much to be regretted that efforts should be made to increase their powers.

After describing the new clauses the paper continues: a perusal of the Bill would leave no doubt in the readers' mind that the object of the Bill is to establish absolute police rule for ever in the country.

BHARAT MITRA,
July, 24th, 1909.

51. One is at his wit's end, says the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 24th July, to read the Police Bill introduced in the Bengal Council the other day. When

The terrible Bill.

the present powers of the police are already so terror-striking, when every one is so sick of them that the public are every day imploring Government to reduce them, when the *Pioneer*, which is considered the enemy of the Indians, has also admitted that the confession of the accused has no value in English Court, while so much weight is being given to it in this country, one cannot prevent police oppression to obtain it; how is it that, instead of remedying the evils, an idea of making the police more terrible should have struck the Lieutenant-Governor?

The necessity of amending the Calcutta Police Act has been stated to be that the police administration has become more complicated, and that it is necessary to make provisions to prevent such outrages as have occurred of late. The Bill therefore proposes to give Sub-Inspectors powers to control and regulate processions according to their wishes. The Police Commissioner will be empowered to forbid carrying *lathi*, fire arms, etc., collecting or carrying missiles, exhibiting any man, living or dead, uttering any particular cry or singing any national song, etc.; etc., any breach of the above would make one liable to be arrested.

All the above powers relate to public places, but the definition of these words include even premises of private men. Some time back people thought that they were free in their own houses, but, since the bomb outrages, there has been a good deal of interference with their freedom. Now the Bill, if passed into law, will enable the police to enter anyone's house at any time. It will not be necessary for the police to obtain a warrant before arresting any man it likes. This power was hitherto confined to cases in which certain offences were committed. The Bill proposes to make that power general.

There is some such law in Bombay, but it has been provided with a safeguard in the way of civil and criminal action against malicious actions of the police. The proposed law, in the opinion of many, is practically without such a safeguard. Here it is provided that no action shall lie against the police for its proceedings unless it is not *bona fide*, and then the action must be brought within three months of its commission.

Extraordinary powers are thus attempted to be given to the police. Should this law be passed, people in and around Calcutta will have to live in constant dread of losing their respect and honour. The police eye on any man would mean unexpected calamities to him. It shows Government has no longer the least confidence in the people. One cannot help being very much agitated to see this state of things.

The liberal treatment and kind words of Sir Edward Baker on his assuming the charge of his office led people to think that better days were in store for them. The sudden change in him is simply inexplicable. He not only uttered harsh words the other day in the Council but immediately after made the people tremble by introducing the above measure.

The only redeeming feature, however, is that the Bill has not been passed in hot haste, but the public bodies have been asked to express their views. If the liberality of spirit exhibited in thus consulting the public is extended to the due consideration of their views, the Bill is never likely to be passed, for no Indian would like that such a terrible measure should become a law.

52. In an article under the heading, "Don't be afraid of scandal", the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 24th July writes:—

The Calcutta and Suburban
Police (Amendment) Bill.

It seems that it was at an inauspicious moment that we referred to the scandals of the police. It seems that it was at an inauspicious moment that the scandals of the police were made public all over the country (lit. in every direction) by (lit. in the months of) many Judges of the High Court. We thought of one thing, but it has turned out to be another.

It was in the expectation of something good that we referred to the scandals of the police; but we find that the result is the contrary. Such indeed is ill-luck (lit. the evil influence of planets). Have the officials been angry at the reference to the scandals? Has any arrangement been made for increasing the powers of the police owing to the reference to their scandals?

What else has it all been? Otherwise, why has a proposal been made for amending the Calcutta and (Suburban) Police Act? Reader, (you) know that it was published in the *Bangavasi* a few weeks ago how the gradual reformation of the police in Bengal took place from the time of (Sir Frederick) Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to that of Sir Cecil Beadon.

[Reference is then made to the existing Police Act and the Bill now before the Council.] After which the paper proceeds: Now understand the object of the Bill from a mere glance at it—it (the object) is the unrestricted increase of the powers of that police, most of the officers of which department in most cases bring up a man tied if they are asked to arrest him. The very powers which the police have already got are intolerable to the people; let our readers once think and see what may be (the case) if these powers are increased still more.

Are we to understand, from what we see in the Bill to-day, that the scandals of the police will be at an end? Let the reader read (elsewhere in our columns) what the Bill contains regarding the explanations and the uses, etc., of many things such as explosives, public roads, *ghâts* (bathing places), thoroughfares, processions, spears, *lathies*, etc., bricks, stones, etc. Who is there whose limbs do not shudder on reading about those explanations and uses? Will not the inhabitants of the city and its suburbs have always to remain in fear if this Bill is passed into law? They will be afraid to blow a conch, afraid to keep plants and herbs, wood and faggots in one's house, afraid to sing a song or two in the street, afraid to take out a bridal procession (lit., a bridegroom), afraid to carry a corpse, afraid to talk together with two or four persons, afraid to convey bricks and stones, afraid to hold theatre and *jatra* parties, afraid to do anything and everything. Think and see what a terrible affair this is.

What is the fear for? The Bill, of course, does not mention (lit., publish) such a dreadful state of things as that one should run a risk as soon as one sings a song, talks, walks in the streets, or holds theatre or *jatra* parties. But then the dreadful thing is the unrestricted increase of the powers of the police, (the vesting of) the police with unbounded powers. Every case which the police will consider to be unlawful may be brought under the provisions of the Act, and people may be arrested. Police officers above the rank of constables will, anywhere they like, be able to arrest anybody and everybody without obtaining the Government's permission or taking out a warrant. We do not say such a thing as that the police will always wilfully arrest anybody and everybody for nothing, but can the people be free from fear if such unbounded powers be placed with the police? How are the people to understand whether if a certain song be sung at a certain place, or if a few (lit. two or four) men walk together at a certain place, or if a certain thing be kept at a certain place, such an act will not appear to be unlawful in the eye of the police? The people at large have in fact no love for the police. From all that the Curzonian Police Commission have said regarding the scandals of the police, as well as from what the public have seen of the conduct of the police on several occasions, the public often shudder at the very (mention of) the name of the police; hence who shall be free from fear on hearing of these boundless powers of the police? There is to be fear at every step as to what act committed at what place will appear to be unlawful in the eye of

the police; there will be no more any escaping from the grasp (lit. jaws) of the police. Is it unnatural for the public to think that, as a result of this fear, there is a chance of the duties, and even the performance of religious functions, of many people being stopped in many cases?

What a fright is this again! What, again, is this dreadful picture of a fright during the administration of wise Baker? The people of this country are at every instant shuddering at this picture. Why has such a law been suddenly made? The Government have, of course, an explanation (to give). The explanation is nothing else than that the area of the city has now increased, the population has also increased, the duties of the police have become complex. The area of the city increased long ago, the population increased long ago; how many will believe that the law which has so long been obeyed is now useless? The Government's explanation does not state why the duties of the police have grown complex. Has anybody raised the question of this complexity so long? On the contrary the number of officers in the police has now increased, the expenditure on the police has increased. The duties of the police are fixed by a routine (and are) easy and simple. One is not to expect satisfaction from an official explanation. But from the side of the people some think—why think, some plainly say that the authorities here are taking such harsh measures because they have imagined (the existence of) a conspiracy owing to a *Sahib* being murdered in England. One is really inclined to laugh when one hears this. Is Bengal's Baker such a fool that harsh measures have to be passed in Bengal because something has happened at a certain place in England? It is impossible for Baker to feel uneasy at any disturbance which may take place in another country (lit., to get headache in one village on account of the noise made by a husking machine in another village). But then unlucky as Bengal is, nothing is impossible for it. If indeed such be the case then we must say that it is due to our ill-luck that Baker's intelligence has been perverted. Out of our ill-luck, and owing to there being something wrong in the soil of Bengal even the person whom we think to be good becomes bad.

The Lieutenant-Governor said the other day that if the people of the country did not help the Government, then strong measures would have to be taken, which would make it probable for even the innocent to be persecuted. Did we ever think that we should hear such things from Baker's lips? The English say that it is better that a hundred criminals should escape than that a single innocent person should be punished. Is not then one led to think that it is all due to our ill-luck when one hears that a learned descendant of the same English people, especially a person like Baker, has said such a thing?

Is it strange that a person who can say such a thing should set himself to pass harsh measures for governing Calcutta? It seems to us now (lit., to-day) that it is the distrust of the people and nothing else which is the cause of (taking) this harsh measure. He has now understood that the people are not willing to help the Government and hence this harsh measure. He has, of course, also understood that the persecution of the innocent is probable in this measure. If indeed he understands that, then is not one to say that the intelligence of wise Baker has been perverted? Will your object be fulfilled by this measure? The public do not come forward to help the police because they (the police) are terrible. And it is such a police again that you have now (lit., to-day) made all the more terrible.

We do not know whether it is a joke or a sarcasm. Some say: "Do you know what is the meaning of vesting the police with unbounded powers? If the police get unbounded powers they will gradually get sick of using those powers, and will cease abusing their powers, and in illustration they say that if when a lunatic is inclined to knock his head against (the earth) he is forbidden to knock his head, he will not obey that prohibition (but) will insist on knocking his head; whereas if he is told, "knock your head," then he will not knock his head any more. Similarly, if you say to the police: "Do not commit oppression," then the police will commit oppression; but if you say to the police: "Commit oppression," the police will not commit oppression. There is indeed some logic in this joke or sarcasm. But will it be so in the end? Even then what grounds are there for being relieved from all

* The reference is to the incident in the story of Rama's war against Ravana, in the course of which Lakshmana (Rama's brother) got seriously wounded and it was resolved to bring a herb from a far-off mountain.

anxiety? Lakshmana is dying now, when will you give him medicine?* If the people of the country get frightened by harsh measures, if that fear make the people of the country remiss in the performance of their duty, think what troubles (lit., danger) there will then be.

It seems to us now that Sir Edward Baker, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has taken this harsh measure on account of a distrust of the people. As for us we think that there is no reason for taking such a harsh measure. In these circumstances scandals of the police are only likely to increase.

The scandals of the police are now (noticeable) in every quarter. But this Bill for the amendment of the Police Act reminds one now of that song in the *jatra* play of "Vidya Sundar":—

"Don't be afraid of scandals, thou moon-faced one,
Be the sharer of my sorrows and bear with anything that people may say."

There is no justification for harshness, and hence one is led to think that on the stage of Belvedere in Bengal this song is being addressed to the police. Seeing the Police Bill one is led to think that it is this song which is being echoed in every quarter. "Don't be afraid of scandals." It seems as if the echo says: "Let the *Bangavasi* say what it may, let judges say what they may, don't be afraid of scandal."

53. Referring to the Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill, the *Hindusthan* [Calcutta] of the 24th July says:—

The Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill.

HINDUSTHAN.
July 25th, 1909

In the old Police Act, there is no separate provision of any kind regarding trades, etc., carried on by the lords of the Police; no prohibitory rule exists. Consequently, no help can be taken from the law for checking the offence occasioned by the carrying on of trades by the lords of the Police. This deficiency in the law has to be made up by separate prohibitory orders of the Police Department. In clause 6 of the new law arrangement is being made to provide prohibitory rules relating to trades, etc., of the lords of the Police; instead of remaining subject to departmental punishment, the offence is going to become subject to punishment by the Law Courts. We openly say that a good provision is being thus made.

In all large places of business in Calcutta, such as Hatkhola, Ahiritolla, etc., there is a class of petty receivers of stolen goods known as "*chutkiwallas*," and the shops they keep are called "*chutki* shops." This *chutki* business is not an offence under the old law. Clause 11 of the new law makes the *chutki* an offence. It is clear that this provision is approved of by all mahajans, arhatdars, etc. Mr. Duke also has said this.

A number of new sections are being inserted in clause 14 of the new law. Everyone's keen eye will fall on this clause. The object of clause 14 is to introduce and enforce Police control in such matters as public assemblies, gay processions in public streets, delivery of lectures, etc., to public assemblies, carriage of luggage and baggage in river *ghats*. The reader understands why an introduction of such a powerful control has become greatly necessary. By the special provisions which have been introduced in the last one or two years, the path of the Police will be smoothed, the path of the Law Courts also will be smoothed. It is not difficult to understand why it has become extremely necessary to make provision for searching bags and baggages similar to the clause empowering the search for gun-powder, dynamite, lydditez (?), bombs, etc., and controlling public assemblies, gay processions, etc. It is in this clause 14 that provision is being made for keeping public streets free from obstruction. Provision is also being made in this clause to prevent obstruction to passengers by huge things like machinery, engines, timber, etc.

Everyone has seen how hawkers and petty traders spread out their shops on the public streets of Calcutta and make the foot-paths impassable. This nuisance has been provided against in clause 17. But if this clause is strictly enforced it will make many a lord of the police sorry. Sorrow for money is an unbearable sorrow.

By clauses 18, 19 and 20, the high power of the police is going to be increased in an immeasurable degree. Mr. Duke himself says "clauses 18, 19 and 20 have the effect of making the law of arrest more precise and while in some particulars widening the power of the police and somewhat extending the range of offences for which they may arrest, protect the public by requiring due warning to be given."

We see that a fierce opposition has been raised against this clause in the native press and community. But we say beforehand that at a time like the present a very fierce opposition on the part of the native community and the native press will not be allowed to go on freely; it will become necessary to oppose with cool words and with arguments. Every subject can be criticised calmly and in restrained language. Government also likes such criticism. Keeping our loyalty intact in our hearts we can say everything to the Sovereign and his servants.

Arrangement is also being made in the new law to provide for greater community between the Calcutta Police and the Mufassal Police in matters of search in Calcutta and the mufassal. In fact, it is clear that the new law is largely following a new path.

Everyone understands and admits that it is owing to the new unrest created by the novel activity (among certain people in the country) that the already enhanced power of the city Police is being still greatly increased. No one objects to the extreme severity that has become necessary to check the wicked. What we are afraid of is lest the severity required to punish the wicked should operate in crushing the innocent. A removal of the unrest is by all means desirable. But it is feared lest on the pretext of pacifying, the police should excite unrest. The medicine should be commensurate with the disease. But if it become stronger than the disease, the consequence becomes harmful. Great coolness is now required of the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor and the high officials working with them. The troubles will become more fierce if at this time these officials fall off in the least from this attitude of extreme coolness. Demoniac treatment increases a disease of the society, as much as it does a disease of the body. This truth is not new, although the fear of the new law is new.

We do not think that we shall not find in the Act that will be passed the severe measures that we find in the Bill. On receiving the news of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie's murder, Sir Edward Baker said in the Legislative Council that, if the leaders of society in the country failed to support and help the Government and the Police in the matter of suppressing the anarchists, Government would not remain indifferent, but would enforce severe measures for the purpose; and that, if in consequence of this the innocent were made to suffer along with the guilty, then the people of the country would have to bear the hardship.

When the Bill in question has been introduced after this terrible hint, it must be understood that it is the severe measures hinted at which have been introduced for Calcutta and its suburbs. And we do not think that a similar arrangement will not be made for all India.

Independent Coercion Acts are introduced as temporary instruments; this has been done in this country also. The Police Act is not to be a temporary measure; it will be a permanent thing. The severe measures of the Police Act are not to be temporary instruments; they will be permanent. It is admitted on all hands that a permanent severity of Police laws is a very dreadful thing.

We have not to show that the bestowal of very large powers on the police causes oppression of the innocent. The Lieutenant-Governor has himself shown it. When, in spite of this, arrangements are being made to place terrible powers in the hands of the police, the future is clear in our minds. The law has not been passed all of a sudden. Some delay is being made for taking public opinion. This has given rise to various surmises in various quarters. "An auspicious undertaking should be hurried, whilst an inauspicious undertaking should be delayed." (The law is) inauspicious for us; delay is desirable.

54. The *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 24th July, in discussing the Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill, writes:—

HOWRAH HITAIISHI,
24th July 1908.

"A public place" in this Bill is to have a wider meaning than usual we cannot find out even after giving the matter particular attention, where and what little measure of private place the citizens of Calcutta will after this definition have left to them.

[Reference is then made to the definitions of streets and public places of amusement, and to the new powers which it is proposed to be conferred on the Police officers.] The paper then goes on thus:—

The authorities have issued a notice for the public to send in their views about this delightful measure. We ask if this is not a form of mockery! The entire population of Calcutta, men and women, are to be placed indiscriminately under the orders of the police; a common Police Daroga is to extend his power of authority or discretion over all the inhabitants of Calcutta, from the Rajadhiraj to the humble dweller in the cottage; from the *baitakhana* (parlour) and the palace at a cottage to every place where the public assemble—all will be polluted by the dust of the daroga's feet and his influence; no place of assembly anywhere, in temples, or places of worship,

majhises, sacred places, gardens, roads, *ghâts*,* will be free from restriction or safe to anybody. The

*Steps leading to a tank or river. uttering of hymns, singing verses, even chanting in chores in a loud voice will be brought under the control of a small fraction of the daroga's favour; Police officers above the rank of Head-constable are to be entrusted with the task of determining the propriety or impropriety of songs, speeches, social conversation, etc.,—in short all sports, pleasures, movements, and pastimes, all kinds or religious observances of the people of Calcutta are to be brought under the control of the police. Are the citizens of Calcutta to support a Bill which the worthy Secretary to the Bengal Government, the Hon'ble Mr. Duke, has framed on these lines? Are the Calcutta public to give their views about the propriety and impropriety of such a Bill? And the very Government which has inaugurated this new reform, and he who has brought this Bill into existence and he who will enjoy the rights accruing from this proposed law, viz., the Commissioner of Police; and he who, as Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation took the lead in robbing the Calcutta public of their happiness, ease and liberties,—it is they who jointly or severally along with a number of other official and non-official Members of Council are to appraise the value of the opinions so collected. It all comes in the end to this—it is as though the strong after having resolved to oppress the weak, displaying a unsque courtesy asks: "I want to tie you up, I want to thrash you, I want to rob you of your liberties belonging to you individually, to your nation, race or to you as a human being, and what are your views in regard to it?" I am to judge, to consider, to discuss and thereafter to take any steps that I shall deem proper—what reply can be looked for in such a case? Are not the present measures and acts of Government almost similar to the state of things described above?

We do not know to what extent Government trusts its Police officers who are its followers, neither can we say with what measure of confidence they will be able to leave to subordinate Police officers the full administration of and authority over the Indian metropolis, the second city in the British empire. But this we can say that the people in general distrust the Police of the city wholly,—the more so now that the misdeeds of the Calcutta Police are no longer unknown to anybody. The Calcutta Police are experts at trying to get the innocent punished,—this has been repeatedly proved at different times at different courts by different Judges. The Calcutta Police do not shrink from or are ashamed of collecting false witnesses, fabricating false documents and making unjustifiable arrests and house-searches. European judicial officers like Messrs. Kingsford, Beachcroft, etc., who are known by their own names bear direct evidence of this. And further more, Sir Edward

* The title which was conferred upon the late Lieutenant-Governor by the Nadia Pandits.—Translator.

Baker's predecessor in office, that *Nyayasindhu** (the ocean of justice) and the friend of the Police, Sir A. Fraser in his report as president of the Police Commission distinctly bore out this allegation, as do the riots at Beadon Square. And the people of Calcutta have not

yet forgotten how the Commissioner of police, ordinary Police officers and police servants behaved in connexion with the case against Arabinda Ghosh.

The public have always been complaining that the authority vested in the Calcutta Police under the existing law was excessive, improper and unnatural and that it was on this account that the abuses before mentioned and others not mentioned have been happening. Nevertheless Government has not listened to them, nor adopted any remedial measures. Rather it has not shrunk in the least from promptly promoting and decorating those Police officers who have been censured and reprovved by the Courts of Law, and who have been proved to have suborned witnesses, forged deeds, and brought the innocent to punishment. So it is superfluous to say that the irresistible

* *Lit.*, not amenable to check on control.

influence of the Police, their tyrannous conduct and their wielding of unregulated* authority have annoyed and troubled, placed in danger and made restless all classes of the public. Furthermore the serious mistakes which Government has committed at every step by placing unquestioning faith in the conspiracies of the secret Police and the ordinary police and the successive measures of repression it has adopted and is adopting in consequence have come to be intolerable to the public. The Explosives Act, the law for the repression of newspapers, the law for the abolition of Samities, the Circular prohibiting meetings, resort to deportation without trial, arrests without evidence, of men regardless of rank and status, encouraging detention and house-searches,—these are illustrations thereof. If, in addition to all this, the powers of the Calcutta Police are augmented, and the way smoothed for them to a tyrannous and arbitrary exercise of their authority, we assert it confidently that it will not be to the good either of the rulers or of the ruled. By this means, by means of an unjust law, it is true that the irresistible course and unimpaired powers of the police may be increased, and thereby all classes of the population, irrespective of rank and of guilt, may be harassed, all forms of lawful endeavour and just agitation among the governed may be, it is true, to a certain extent suppressed to outside view, but the hearts can never be conquered by this means, or contentment and peace established. It is true that Government as now constituted can pass a law at will in defiance of the people's views; but it should be remembered that a law which goes against public opinion, which is opposed to the natural instincts and the individual liberties of man, which is unjust and unreasonable and is an instrument of tyranny can never be effective or productive of good and no impartial man in his senses can support or approve of it, or be associated with it. Indeed, a law which places undue trust in men wholly untrustworthy, which places excessive powers and presupposes an undue measure of competence in men who are wholly incapable and incompetent, is bound to lead to abuses, oppression, injustice, discontent and unrest in the administration of every line and every page of it. To speak shortly, the the Bill gives to every officer of the Calcutta Police the order and the right to enter into any place they like, and behave towards any person at any place they choose in any way whatsoever—with the Government sanctioning and upholding him. Along therewith an attempt is being made to bring the Calcutta public and the entire Bengal Police under the law—that they are to obey submissively any order or advice which any officer of the Calcutta Police may offer, or to be led by him at his discretion. We notice that this Bill not only adds to the irresistible executive powers of the police, but is going to entrust them with a very large measure of the power which had so far been exercised by Police Courts. For instance, the power to judge whether songs, speeches, meetings, processions, etc., were lawful or otherwise, as well as the power to order house-searches hitherto vested in the Magistrate, who issued orders after consideration of evidence adduced by one or both sides. This new Bill however empowers an ordinary police *daroga* at discretion, without evidence having been tendered or without explanation having been called for, to stop forthwith any procession or assembly, any song or any speech, and to arrest without warrant anybody and everybody, anywhere and everywhere at his will, and to institute searches into anybody's premises.

Present-day statesmen do not hold it safe to vest in the Civilian Magistrate a combination of judicial and executive authority. Indeed even Lord

Curzon, that unruly administrator so unduly fond of power, thought it desirable to bring to an end this unholy union, and accordingly the officials who have come after him have made preparations for carrying out the separation to some extent, and it has also been decided to try the experiment in Bengal. And yet just at this stage Sir Edward Baker is contemplating legislation which confers on Police officers above the rank of a constable, powers a good deal larger and more terrible than that now wielded by Magistrates. We ask if this is not narrowing the chances of justice and good government—if this is not encouraging the notorious tyranny and corruption of the majority of Police officers if, this is not making the population of Calcutta, composed as it is of men from different countries on the face of the earth and of the best citizens from the different provinces of India, into playthings in the hands of a number of Police officers, who are the very patterns of bad character as it were, and by that means not bringing them into serious trouble and humiliating them in a fatal fashion? We also ask if Sir Edward Baker, his Government and Mr. Duke are still ignorant of the guise in which the police have been revealed in connexion with the Alipore and Midnapore Bomb cases, the Bighati, Morehal and Barrah dacoity cases the Comilla Murder case, and the Khulna sedition case, and a thousand other cases? It was only the other day that Sir Edward Baker directed a sifting inquiry into the conduct of the police in connexion with the Midnapore Bomb case. Although that inquiry has not terminated, it can be unhesitatingly asserted that their misdeeds have been exposed by the evidence of a very large number of the witnesses. The forgery committed by the police in connection with the Alipore case is probably under inquiry by Government. We firmly believe that Government if not ashamed, is sorry for the persecution of the innocent which the Calcutta Police have been guilty of in this connection. What then can be a more incoherent thoughtless and fatal error than to place full reliance on such untrustworthy, characterless and mischievous police officers and to constitute them the all-in-all lords of Calcutta? Our last word is if this Bill is the first fruit of that poison-tree in the shape of that lamentable bad policy and fatal want of self restraint which Sir E. Baker displayed the other day in the course of his speech in Council on the recent murders in England? Is this the first instrument for carrying on the administration so as to make no distinction between the guilty and the innocent? Does Sir E. Baker look on a repressive measure like this as conducive to the preservation of the peace in the city and to the promotion of contentment among the people? If this be so, we warn Government, while yet there is time, to abandon this mischievous disposition and withdraw or radically alter this bill brought forward by Mr. Duke which constitutes a serious disgrace to British rule. Otherwise this new law will aggravate the flame of discontent a hundred times. It will not be surprising if, when the way is facilitated to the oppression of the inoffensive and the innocent in this way, the hearts even of men ardently attached to the British people and to the British Empire were to come to be perverted and polluted as are the hearts of the anarchists. In conclusion we want to urge the citizens of Calcutta to rouse themselves, to firmly resolve to defend each his just right and self-respect. in concert with their brethren all over Bengal; and to start a tremendous agitation against this Bill. If unfortunately this agitation like all we participate in, should go for nothing, let us prepare ourselves to oppose this useless law by the help of passive resistance, patiently, courageously and with restraint.

55. Referring to the proposed Calcutta Police Act, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 25th July writes:—

The new Police Bill.

Many people are inquiring of us: "How shall we live in Calcutta, if the new Police Act is passed?" If one looks at the proposed Act and weighs its language, the same question arises in everybody's mind. If one looks at the methods of the Government, one is led to imagine that English officialdom is about to make the rigours of the law the strongest imaginable. Perhaps they believe in their minds that if there are stringent provisions in the law, it will be an easy thing to govern the subjects according to its provisions as occasion requires. We regard both these classes of people to be labouring under a misconception. We regard our friends and countrymen

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 25th, 1908.

as mistaken, who have been alarmed at the terrible character of the law; and we regard the English rulers who want to make the sections of the law Draconian and to write them in human blood as mistaken to the last degree. The Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, and the other codes that are already in force in the country, are, each one of them, not less stringent and fearful in their character than they could possibly be. If the rulers governed the country according to the letter of the ordinary laws, the subjects would have, by this time, under their pressure and grinding, been obliged to shake off their mortal frames, and the whole country would have been continually resounding with the cries and wails of the sufferers. But the fact that notwithstanding these extremely stringent laws and regulations, notwithstanding the heartless officials, we are still alive, are passing our days in pleasure and merriment, and are travelling everywhere in perfect security, shows that there is some such thing concealed behind the laws and enactments of the English, by virtue of which even things unbearable to human beings have become endurable to us. What is this secret thing?

The English people are the dominant people, the governing class in India. This is universally admitted. Moreover, almost the whole of the administration of the English is carried out by the people of this country. Those of this country who are engaged in the administrative work under the English are all paid officers. Individually, there is nobody who is their master or superior. Though the English are of the race of the Emperor of India, though India is a *lakheraj* zamindari of the English, yet all the white rulers from the Viceroy down to the white boy-*hakim* of a subdivision, are paid officers. Thus all the officers connected with the administration of India, whether white or black, are paid officers. And yet none of them has any particular master. The method of administration is fixed, the rules are all laid down; one officer is placed over another to see whether that method and those rules are being followed in doing the work, and to provide for its satisfactory accomplishment by another. Nobody loses his appointment under the English, provided he does not transgress the rules and methods, and works according to the prescribed arrangement. The first thing an officer would do is to see that he retains his post, looks to his own promotion, and does his utmost to increase his income. Every officer, white or black, tries to ensure that he follows a course which does not expose him to trouble and difficulty and brings no reflection upon his capabilities. No one has anything like a love for the administration of India; there is no single head or master who guides the country's administration during his whole life; everybody is anxious for his own self; everybody is anxiously thinking how he can increase his own respect and fame, how he can publish his own greatness, and how he can secure increased salaries every year and rise higher in rank. Add to this the jealousy and party-feeling among the officers. Many of those who were known as able officers under Sir Andrew Fraser, have been perhaps blamed or transferred under Sir Edward Baker. Officers with whom Lord Curzon worked, have been removed by Lord Minto, and other officers liked by His Excellency have been selected. This is human nature. If there be no individual as superior overhead, it is the tendency of man to keep everything in its place and then draw the best enjoyable things towards himself.

This system of administration in India resembling a headless trunk is the armour of mail of the Indian subjects. However stringent the law may be made, it is, after all, a man-made law, and therefore flaws are sure to be found out in it by man's ingenuity. However closely woven a piece of cloth may be, water must find its way through it. Similarly, we are sure to find out the legal flaws as a means of our safety. If a particular individual had drawn up a stringent law in order to persecute us, we would then have been truly alarmed. In the system of Indian administration there is no personality; only there are rules and prohibitions; so there is no hatred or grudge from a personal point of view. Even if there be any such hatred or grudge, there is no means of satisfying it, for a superior officer sits overhead in the case of every officer for the purpose of finding out his faults. Over the Viceroy's head there is the Secretary of State, who, again is under the Parliament. If with the help of a Member of Parliament a sensation can be set up, then a crisis can easily be reached. For, as there is no particular individual who is the real

owner of the Indian Empire, and as the whole British nation is the owner, an attempt is made to keep the reputation of the nation unsullied in the same manner as would be done in the case of an individual. The result is that in the British administration of India the outward appearances only are maintained. There is no one to look to the inside with as much care as is bestowed on maintaining the outward polish. In order to maintain the outward appearance and to appear as honest to other people, it is necessary to forgive and ignore much, and to play fast and loose. When the rulers are occupied with keeping the exterior bright and playing fast and loose, the subjects then get their opportunity—and manage to live in happiness. It is thus that, although the laws are so stringent, we have not been trampled upon and crushed as yet.

There is still another interesting point. The English are purely foreign rulers; having at first come to this country in the guise of merchants, they afterwards made themselves its rulers. The English are therefore pleased with cash payments. If their earnings in hard cash remain intact, the English do not take notice of any other thing. If the earnings from trade and business, and from the taxes and duties imposed in connection with the administrative work, come to their hands in full as usual, the English pay no attention whatever to their subjects. This preference for cash earnings in the ruling race has permeated the subordinate officers and has assumed the form of bribes. Bribes exist, and we are living in happiness because many people take bribes. The general belief, therefore, is that in the British Empire everything is possible with money. It is because this slackness exists that in spite of the stringent laws we are managing to live. There are men who will take bribes from two pice to a lakh of rupees,—from a single pice of prepared betel-leaf up to a magnificent and invaluable suite of ivory furniture; and it is because such people exist that we are managing to live happily with our wives, children and families.

The last remark we have to make is that the English are extremely small in number. If even a most liberal calculation were made, the number of English officials in this country would not exceed two lakhs. The Musalmans were also very few in number at first. But the heart of the Musalman was large, their courage infinite. Any Hindu who embraced Islam was regarded as belonging to the race of Rajas or Badshas. In almost every village the Musalmans had their quarters, and hence might easily turn oppressors. The English, though they are Christians, have not been able to take the black Christians of this country among the race of rulers. The Indians, therefore, have no other tie binding themselves with the English except the pay they get. The Indians serve the English only from fear and greed of money. It is only people who have love for money that can be easily won over by money. It is the *chaukidars* and the *parawallas* with *lal pagris*, and at most the *Daroga Babu*, and the *Inspector Babu*, who are practically governing India on behalf of the English. How much moral force have they? They must live in this country, in our society, and in our midst. The service of the English is not hereditary. At the close of the service after 25 years the pumpkin and the gourd, once resting on the scaffold, must come down to the ground and roll in the dust. That service, again, has numberless troubles and difficulties. All officers, white and black, serving under the English, know this. It will come to this then, that, for the sake of service alone, no Hanuman Singh, Gaja Singh, no Babu *Hakim*,—in short no high officer will be an enemy to the nation or to the society. Over and above this we know how to offer *pooja*, with all the 16 ingredients, to Sitala, to Oladevi, to the *Ass* which Sitala rides, to the monkey, to the snake, to goblins, devils, and other infernal spirits, and were capable of offering such *pooja*. What need we care?

We do not fear anybody. If the Police Act assumes the form of the female monster Taraka*, we have no cause of fear or alarm.

We have unburdened our minds to the fullest extent and, if Sir Edward Baker will listen to our words and understand their significance, we shall be satisfied.

* A huge monster killed by Rama.

CHINSURAH VARTAVAHA,
July 25th, 1900.

56. The *Chinsurah Vartavaha* [Chinsurah] of the 25th July says that if the Police Bill be passed, the powers of the Police officers will be enormously increased. The number

of educated Police officers is extremely small. So, the Bill, if passed, will be a source of great persecution. The Legislative Council will be enlarged towards the close of the next winter according to Lord Morley's Reform Scheme. Why cannot the Police Bill be introduced at that time? There is no cause for this indecent haste. It is hoped that Sir Edward Baker will not be in a hurry to pass the Police Bill.

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 27th, 1900.

57. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 27th July has the following under the heading: "The Missionaries' Anxiety":—

The Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill. In discussing the Bill for the amendment of the Calcutta and Suburban Police Acts the *Statesman* felt uneasy on the missionaries' account. Christian missionaries deliver lectures in all the ghâts, fields and squares (and) preach the Christian religion. But in the course of their lectures many missionaries indulge in improper slander and blasphemy of the Hindu religion on the pretext of this preaching of religion. There is no chance of slandering the Islam religion for any Musalman who may hear that slander, appeases his anger by taking summary revenge. But if Hindu gods and goddesses are slandered, many members of the Hindu audience mock the missionary and jest at him. Often such mocking and jests end in fighting. In the Bill for the amendment of the Police Act, it is laid down that if a person delivers at a public place any speech which may hurt the feelings of persons of a different religion, and may thus probably lead to a breach of the public peace, then any Police officer may stop the lecture of that speaker by issuing an order, orally or in writing. According to this section the lectures of Christian missionaries may be stopped at will. This has made the *Statesman* anxious, and the *Englishman* also has become uneasy. The *Englishman's* uneasiness has led it to speak out its mind:—

It is reported that "an emergency meeting" of the Calcutta Missionary Conference was called for Wednesday last "to protest against the interference with the rights of public speech as suggested in the new amendment of the Police Act," but that, wiser counsels prevailing, two motions of a different character were adopted by a large majority: the first was that no action should be taken by the Conference before the publication of the regulations provided for by a section of the proposed Act; and the second, that a deputation consisting of four members should wait upon the Chief Secretary to Government to confer with him on the subject of the amendments which, as the public are aware, only brings the Calcutta Act into line with that which has worked in Bombay for some years without any difficulty whatever. It is not known to whom the public and the Conference itself may be indebted for arresting any unseasonable and mischievous protest of the kind originally contemplated, but the Missionary Conference is a most useful body in its own line of efforts, and it may be hoped that it will not be betrayed into any unfortunate action at a time when the Government is hardly pressed to maintain public order, and when it needs the cordial and combined support of all well-meaning and loyal citizens.

This is what is called in English: "The cat is out of the bag," that is, the secret has been made public. Is it at all necessary to say plainly what has been made public?

We say, *Englishman*, speak plainly; do not play any trick on us. The preaching of the *swadeshi* is causing injury to your trade and commerce, put a stop to the *swadeshi* by an order. Indeed, you have not come to this country to perform the *Dansagar Sradh** of your ancestors up to the fifty-sixth generation; so that you should become like a *Kalpataru*† and give us whatever we ask. You have come to this country to earn money, to gather food for the fifty-six crores of the members of your race of Yadus‡. The preaching of *swadeshi* has affected the means of your livelihood (literally, struck

* A *Sradh* which is performed with great pomp and *ecldt* and in which large sums of money are given away in charity.

† The legendary tree which yielded anything a person asked it or.

‡ The race of which Krishna was born.

with a *lathi* at the pot in which you cook your rice), put a stop to *swadeshi* speeches, *swadeshi* agitation, the reading of *swadeshi* essays, *swadeshi* newspapers, and everything. We will not say anything, we will not raise any kind of objection. Give up the serpentine course, become straight so that by looking at you our eyes may receive satisfaction, our hearts may be cool, our senses may be collected. It seems as if the attempt to repress the *swadeshi* and the boycott is manifesting itself in every word of the new Bill. Hence if you speak frankly of what everybody understands, all disturbances will come to an end. But it cannot be said in Europe and in his own country the Englishman has to remain in the garb of an Englishman. Con-

* Kalapahar was a Muham-
madan King who used to persecute
the Hindus in various ways.

sequently unless he can manage to hide under an English polish his Kalapahar-like* tendencies as the rulers of India, the Englishman will be outcasted in his own society. You have nothing

to be anxious about, if we can know you for what you are; but it is for fear lest your countrymen may find out the truth about you that so much is being done to keep up the outward form—that there is so much external polish! Is it not so? This is indeed the whole secret. If we have misunderstood the situation, if we have not been able to diagnose your disease correctly, point us out our error and we will admit our fault. We will not only admit our fault, but also speak nothing but the words that you will teach us to speak. We are, as it were, a number of parrots sitting on the perch of your Indian administration, (and) are eating the gram that you give us—what else shall we speak but the words which you have taught (us)?

58. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July, in discussing the Excise Bill, writes that in spite of all professions to the contrary, the dominant idea of Government is to

The Excise Bill.

add to its revenues from the sale of liquor. This new Bill takes away even such little rights in the matter of the location of liquor shops as the people now possess.

59. The *Alpanch* [Bankipur] of the 16th July feels pleasure in announcing that Babu Kishun Sahay, B.L., has been

Babu Kishun Sahay as Member
on the Bengal Legislative Council.

nominated by the Bihar Landholders' Association as its representative on the Bengal Legislative Council, and says that it would be still more pleased if it would find the Honourable Member taking equal interest in what concerns both the brothers, viz., the Hindus and the Musalmans.

HITAVADI,
July 23rd, 1909.

ALPANCH.
July 16th, 1909.

V—PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS, AND CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

60. The *Nihar* [Contai] of the 20th July writes that the paddy seedlings in the fields are in danger of being submerged

The condition of the crops in
the Contai Subdivision.

owing to the rain-water having accumulated therein. The writer draws the early attention of the authorities to this and suggests that the water should be allowed to pass through the sluice gates of the Orissa Coast Canal to save the crops from destruction.

NIHAR,
July 20th, 1909.

VI—MISCELLANEOUS.

61. Seeing that 248,071 tons of grain were exported from Karachi port last month, the *Bharat Bandhu* [Calcutta] of the 21st July remarks:—"While the poor Indians are

Karachi exports.

finding it hard to extinguish the fire of hunger burning in their bellies, the foreigners are carrying away their grain from the country."

62. The *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 26th July notices the necessity of reduced hours of work in cloth mills of England and contrasts it with the growing

The English cloth mills.

prosperity of similar mills in this country.

BHARAT BANDHU,
July 21st, 1909.

HINDI BANGAVASI,
July 26th, 1909.

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 21st, 1909.

63. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 21st July writes on the coming boycott celebration:—

"The 7th of August."
The coming boycott celebration.

On the coming 22nd *Sravan*, Saturday, the 7th August next, the fourth anniversary of the boycott will be celebrated in all towns and villages of Bengal. It was on this day that on the grounds of Federation Hall the late Ananda Mohan Bose proclaimed the boycott resolution. Since then it has been on this day that the boycott celebration has been taking place. Preparations are already a-foot from now for such a celebration this time also. Last year Srijut Jatindra Nath Choudhury, whom we all honour, was priest or president at this celebration. So, as long as a new president is not elected, it is Rai Jatindra Nath who must take the lead in these preparations. We believe that unless the Government and the Calcutta Police place any particular obstructions in the way, this time also the boycott celebrations will pass off in an orderly fashion.

On the other hand, we hear that some well-known rich men of Calcutta who make large incomes and pass by the name of leaders of the country are advising the giving-up altogether of the use of the word boycott and of the boycott celebration. Had they given such advice publicly, we could have in making our comments made mention of their names. The *Tribune* of Lahore has spared us this inconvenience. We learn from telegraphic reports that the *Tribune* constituting itself the self-made preceptor of Bengal has offered us of its own initiative good advice gratis. Says this paper—"For the reason that the boycott was abandoned by the last Madras Congress, for the reason that Bengal leaders like Srijut Surendra Nath Banerji voluntarily gave up the boycott after endless deliberation and inquiry, for the reason that the celebration of the boycott will annoy Government, so that the ill-feeling between the Government and the people will be strengthened, for these reasons, it will not be suitable any longer to celebrate the boycott in Bengal. By holding any 7th of August celebration, the leaders of Bengal will commit a gigantic error, and for this error, ultimately endless sorrows, sufferings, pains, and separations, will have to be suffered—probably again oppression and harassment will be aggravated a hundred times in Bengal."

We are obliged to hear this good advice of our wise contemporary which originates in the eternal principle of "Uncle, save thine own." But not everybody can always listen to the good advice of anybody and everybody—he cannot, because he is not able to. So we also are unable to accept the wise advice of wise Lahore contemporary, viz., that one should always save one's ownself, at the sacrifice even of his wife or money. We shall now explain in detail why we are not able and why we shall never be able in future to act on such advice.

The first point is that in the country's work, in vows relating to the country, we shall never by any means resort to fraud. If any effort is to be made to improve indigenous industries, the boycott must necessarily be taken into account. Unless foreign merchandise is boycotted first of all, there would be no opportunity at all for the use of indigenous goods. The Bengali is, as it were, under the spell of the products of *bilati* industry—everything fit for human use beginning from a needle, which can be prepared with the assistance of the artisans, is now being imported into this country from Europe. European goods are cheap and showy and beautiful. Under such circumstances if any extensive use is to be brought about of the products of indigenous industry, a resolution to boycott foreign merchandise must first of all be made. When European goods first began to come into general use in our country, the leading men in our community, under the influence of English education and of a desire to imitate the (ways of) English civilisation, used publicly to welcome and praise *bilati* things. Bengalis could not in those days be known as really civilised, unless they could use apparel, shoes, outfit, and essences from English shops. This also is another aspect of the boycott. Either a particular thing has to be brought into use by excessive praise or the boycott of a class of goods has to be brought about and indirectly the use of another kind encouraged by means of dispraise. When Bengalis used excessively to praise things *bilati*, they used to blame both publicly and in secret all products of indigenous industry. If, at one time, captivated by European civilisation, the Bengali could boycott the products of indigenous industry,

why should not he now try to boycott *bilati* merchandise in order to extend the sale of indigenous industries? No matter what anybody may say, without boycott there is no means of *swadeshi* being practised. The boycott creates a want, opens up a demand, and only then are products of indigenous industry supplied to the markets. This is what everybody firmly believes and Bengalis have so long been speaking and acting on this decision. And Bengalis are not prepared now for fear of annoying Government to save themselves by saying that they give up the boycott and adhere only to *swadeshi* and thereby to pose as immaculate in the eyes of Government (and of) the ruling community. The accomplishment of a patriotic vow is not possible by resort to a lie, by the influence of diplomacy, by appeals to expediency. What is sinful cannot be helpful to the revival (lit., establishment) of virtue. The boycott is highly necessary to the expansion of *swadeshi*,—this we know, as does everybody else in the country, including the *Tribune*. Why then will the Bengalis throw dust in the eyes of Government?

The second point is that we do not accept the Madras Congress as a Congress at all. We said this in distinct and straight-forward language on the occasion of the Madras assembly. An affair which is the outcome of the pleasures and whims of a section is neither a country's assembly nor a national Congress. So we shall not be moved by appeals to such a Congress. From what little we know we can say that Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji whom all the country ought to worship, has not given up the boycott. He preached the boycott in his paper the *Bengalee*, as well as in various speeches at various places, even after the Madras Congress. To take the vow to use *swadeshi* goods only to the best of one's power is to adopt the boycott. To whatever town or village in Bengal Srijut Surendra Nath Banerji has been, in all those towns or villages he has asked everybody to repeat and act on the *swadeshi* vow. This is the boycott. So it will not do for the *Tribune* to delude the Bengalis by a sort of gambler's trick, as it were, that our revered Surendra Nath Babu has given up the boycott. No Bengali accepting *swadeshi* views can give up the boycott. It would have been well if the *Tribune*, while speaking on this subject, had remembered this.

By any means whatever, the 7th August celebration will be observed—be it in every home, or be it in public meetings—the celebration is sure to be observed. We have no apprehensions that Government will put a terrible obstacle in its way.

64. The following is a full translation of an article which appears in the *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 22nd July:—

JASOHAR
July 22nd, 1906.

THE NATIONAL DAY OF THE BENGALIS, THE 7TH AUGUST, IS COMING.

By a revolution of the wheel of time, the 7th of August has come near,—the Bengalis can by no means be oblivious of this national day. Four years ago on this very day the Bengalis for the first time congregated under a national banner, and resolved that so long as Government would not give up the partition of Bengal, so long as the intense pain residing in the hearts of the seven crores of Bengalis would not be assuaged, so long the Bengalis would not use articles made by Englishmen. Day after day, month after month, year after year have passed on, the Bengalis have not forgotten that national resolve. Year after year the Bengalis, congregated under the national banner, have trampled on hundreds of lets and hindrances and reminded each other of their resolution. Year after year foreign articles are being slowly ousted from the Bengalis' shops. Year after year all parts of Bengal are being filled with the load of country—made commodities. The struggle on the part of the Bengalis is not yet complete. Foreign articles are still present in every Bengali house, foreign articles still remain arranged in heaps in every Bengali shop. We must still say, so long as the partition of Bengal does not disappear, so long as happiness, peace, wealth of arts and extensive commerce do not return to the country, so long the Bengalis will not fail to congregate under the national banner year after year on this sacred day and remind each other of the national resolve.

To-day we are involved in a thick net of danger, to-day many of those who are honoured in the country and occupy the place of leaders amongst us

are suffering punishment without trial. Those whose awakened voice used year after year on this sacred day, to show to the Bengalis the path of their duty, are to-day mostly banished. Respected Surendra Nath and Bipin Chandra are at a distance of thousands of miles. But shall we, for that reason, desist from performing our duty? Never. Let arrangements be going on even from this time in every hamlet, every village, every town in Bengal, so that nothing may occur to hinder the fulfilment of the vow to the Mother. The inhabitants of Calcutta have fulfilled their own duty. Following in their footsteps let the Mother's trumpet be sounded, from this very moment let the Bengalis again go on singing, "A hundred blows shall we bear, still we shall not forsake this determination, shall not forsake this determination."

SANJIVANI,
July 22nd, 1909.

65. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July has an article under the heading, "The boycott celebration—the 7th of August," of which the following is a full translation:—

The boycott celebration.

The day of the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the boycott of English goods is gradually (literally, while one sees) approaching. When Lord Curzon did not in any way desist from dividing Bengal, when after making many representations and petitions, the people of Bengal were disappointed (and) left in deep sorrow and pain in their hearts (literally, souls), then on that 7th day of August in the year 1905 the people of Bengal issued a great proclamation from the Calcutta Town Hall. On that day, after many ages, like a lion awakened from its sleep, the nation, which is under the foot of others, suddenly and violently shook its manes with a roar with the object of protecting its ever-sullied self-respect. Unseen did the God of India's destiny shower auspicious flowers on the Bengalis' head on that day. Just as in the rainy season the current of the sea which floods the shores fills up the small branches and sub-branches, which were dried up by drought, and imparts to them the grace of youth, similarly the Bengalis' suddenly overflowed sense of self-respect aroused its own power in every vein and artery. That is why the 7th of August has been accepted by the Bengali as a great auspicious day in the national life, that is why we are bound to perpetuate the memory of that day and incorporate it in to the history of the Bengalis' national life.

On that day we shall have to take a reckoning and see to what a measure we have been gainers in the life-struggle with these powerful rivals, the merchants, in which we have engaged ourselves—and whether we have gained our self-interest according to the price (we have paid) for this struggle. New men are being initiated into the service of our own country every day, it will have to be explained to them that a money-offering is necessary for the performance of the duty, that a sacrifice must necessarily be offered up in the worship of the mother country. It is in sacrifice that the glory of life is increased. Hence in the vow which has been undertaken for the self-preservation of the entire nation a proportionate self-sacrifice must have to be made. The necessity has arisen for taking a reckoning of the degree of self-sacrifice which the Bengali has made in comparison with the measure of glory, the measure of self-interest (and) the measure of knowledge which the Bengali has gained during these four years.

Of course it will also have to be understood that the cherished object of the heart with which the boycott was proclaimed has not yet been fulfilled; that the partition of Bengal has not yet been repealed. But even if that has not been so, it is what we have gained in our endeavour for the attainment of that object that decks us with glory to-day. The Bengali is to-day receiving the thanks of the entire world—his patriotism has not to-day been reduced only to an empty (literally, false) word; to-day the entire world has understood that those, who oppressed by the division of the administration of their province into two, have been able to welcome with a smiling face so much persecution for their country's sake, are the real devotees of the Mother. The boycott is but a temporary incident; as soon as the partition of Bengal is annulled the boycott of *bilati* goods will be withdrawn; but the priceless gems which we have gained in connection with this boycott will enhance the glory and grace of the national life. It is now a settled fact that Bengalis will not like veritable lambs, put up with unjust oppression without a protest any more; to-day Bengalis are ready to cut through the magic coils of Government service and

to earn an independent livelihood. They have realised that it is internal dependence which is more truly injurious than external dependence; that is why instead of there not being a single joint-stock concern, as was previously the case, there have been hundreds of joint-stock concerns established all over the country.

It was only for the purpose of having the Partition of Bengal repealed that we bound ourselves to the vow of the boycott of English-made goods; in going to keep this vow we became vested with the power of second sight; we understood that there could be no deliverance for this fallen nation except by manufacturing *swadeshi* goods and taking them even at a loss (and that) it was the *swadeshi* which was the only support of the people of India who were oppressed with the burden of taxation and suffered from starvation; it is from the boycott that we got the *swadeshi*; the auspicious conch of the *swadeshi* was sounded all over the country; the current of the *swadeshi* flowed rapidly from one end of India to the other. From the *Bande Mataram* mantra (cult) and the initiation into the *swadeshi* the country obtained a new life. What else did we gain from the boycott? So long this nation was entirely dependent on others, the thirty crores of the people had no other help but to cast piteous glances at the Government for their own welfare; to-day they have understood that although the help of the Government is necessary in certain matters, it is self-reliance which is the real help in the advancement of the country (and that) it is by standing upon their own legs that they will have to engage themselves in the attainment of the national ideal. So long we did not know that we had any power—we have to-day been able to understand (that):—

“Such a land as the human life is lying fallow,

“If it were tilled it would have yielded gold.”

The tilling has commenced; those National schools, that Technical Institute, those mills and factories in various places are all evidence of the fact that the striving after the national ideal has begun, that our own power has manifested itself. We have gained still more; so long political agitation used to be a pastime, many used to take part in political agitation light-heartedly. The endeavour in which patriots such as Ananda Mohan, Surendra Nath and others engaged themselves in have now borne good fruits; to many people politics have now become a part of their religion; we have to-day been able to know our mother-country; it is really from our very hearts that we can say to-day:—

“Goddess mine, endeavour mine,

“Heaven mine, my country.”

That is why the people of the country are ready to sacrifice their self-interest, and have come forward to put up with persecution, for the sake of their country; that is why repressive policy has not to-day been able to make the sons of India desist from the worship of the Mother. A new spirit, a new idea, a new hope have to-day been awakened in the country; to-day all the boats are running towards that far-off abode of joy; such a sight is quite a new one in the world. The boycott of English goods will be withdrawn as soon as the Partition of Bengal is repealed, but no fear or temptation will desist anybody from the striving after the national ideal in which the people of the country are deeply engaged (literally, immersed).

We find to-day that many are trying to give up that education which is crushing the very bones and marrow, as it were, of the peoples of India. That weakness of the heart, which rendered the Bengali hateful before the world, has been cast away. Above all, the Bengali, attracted by the charming music of self-reliance, is trying to obtain the grace of God. It has now been accepted as the object of Indian national life to vest India with a new glory and give her also a place among the other countries (literally, nations) of the world.

That is why we were saying: “Come, brothers, let us gird up our loins for the purpose of preserving the memory of that day.” That day on which the signs of so much good were first noticed, will come after two weeks. On that day (we) shall have to be calm and collected, establish in our hearts the throne of the Lord of the Great Empire, and bow down at His feet for the sake of the country's welfare. On that day, with all the sins of the

whole year washed off, (we) shall have to pray to him with a pure mind for the country's good; and (we) shall have to make arrangements so that none among the people of the country may on that day, out of laziness or indifference, do anything which is injurious to the country in the least way, so that every soul may be intoxicated with a love for our own country.

We know that a hundred obstacles may come in the way of (literally, fall upon) our very just undertaking—we know that (the performance of) a noble deed is beset with many difficulties—that is not at all a new thing to-day—the Bengali's experience is not to-day very little; yet we shall have to come forward in the field of action prepared (to meet) every difficulty. We know that those who used to take a leading part in every enterprise are to-day in exile; but has all that lessened our duty in any way? Never—it has rather been increased in many respects. Hence we shall have to advance in the field of action very calmly. We shall have to make our hearts as patient as

The original has it as "*Swadeshi sevaka*," which means *swadeshi* servers.

stone and work in silence. We are the servers of our own country* it is not our object to injure any body at all—hence we shall say:—

"With righteousness overhead,
I will strike along a straight path,
If danger comes near,
I will not die in a corner of our room,
I will not fear, (I) will not fear."

We shall have to bear in mind that the endeavour in which we are engaged has been sent by God; it is a sacred vow; just as on the one hand, we shall desist from walking along a path which is in any way immoral or unrighteous, on the other hand, we shall engage ourselves fearlessly in working for the country's good, keeping God in view.

Everyone will now have to advance along the path of his own duty; let everybody engage himself in making preparations for the Celebration. Do not delay any more; come down into the field of action chanting in your hearts the *Bande Mataram* mantra and keeping God in view.

SANJIVANI,
July 22nd, 1909.

66. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] thus disposes of the objections raised by the *Tribune* newspaper against the approaching celebration of the boycott agitation in Bengal:—

The Boycott.

The *Tribune's* objections are based on the grounds that, after mature deliberation, the boycott resolution was not moved in the Madras Congress and that the boycott will have the effect of displeasing Government. In the first place, the Madras Congress was not a thoroughly representative assembly. In fact, many people refrained from attending it. In the second place, the boycott resolution was not expressly vetoed even by that Congress. In the third place, the boycott resolution had been previously moved and adopted at the Congress at Benares and Calcutta as well as at the Surat Conference. The mere fact of the boycott resolution not being adopted at the Madras Congress cannot, therefore, absolve the people of Bengal from the duty of giving effect to a resolution which had thus been previously adopted at more than one Congress. As for the displeasure of Government, had the fact of the Madras Congress not adopting the boycott resolution the effect of propitiating Government into annulling the Partition and releasing the deportees? So long as the Partition is not revoked, so long must the boycott be firmly adhered to. One fails to understand, therefore, why the *Tribune* talks so foolishly.

SRI SRI VISHNU
PRIYA-O-ANANDA
BAZAR PATRIKA,
July 22nd, 1909.

67. Referring to the opinion of the *Tribune* that the boycott propaganda should be abandoned by the Bengalis, the *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of

The boycott and the *Tribune*.
22nd July says:—

The *Tribune's* remarks are unintelligible to us. The Bengalis have adopted the boycott of foreign goods with a view to encourage native manufactures and industries. It is a perfectly legitimate movement and the rulers can take no reasonable objection to it, why then does the *Tribune* object to it?

BASUMATI,
July 24th, 1909.

68. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 24th July strongly reprobates the action of certain members of the Indian Association in deciding not to observe the 7th of August next. The leaders after once preaching the boycott should

Boycott day and the Indian Association.

now either adhere to it manfully and face all the consequences or candidly confess their mistake and renounce it. These are the only honourable courses open to them.

69. The *Jagaran* [Bagerhat] of the 25th July is glad to learn that the

JAGARAN,
July 25th, 1909.

The boycott celebration at Faridpur.

swadeshi workers of Faridpur will this year also hold a worship of the Mother and a procession on the 7th August, and notes with satisfaction that Faridpur is taking the lead in almost all *swadeshi* works such as the holding of a district conference, etc. For all this the patriotic leader of the place, Babu Ambika Charan Majumdar, deserves the thanks of everybody.

70. The following is a full translation of an article headed "Aswini Kumar" which appears in the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July:—

NAYAK,
July 22nd, 1909.

Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutta of noble mind is imprisoned in the town of

"Aswini Kumar"

Lucknow, hundreds and hundreds of miles away from Barisal. Perhaps our authorities cannot even

think how anxious the public including the most vulgar have become on his account. He has taken possession of the hearts of the people of this country in such a way that distance, separation or imprisonment has increased rather than decreased the devotion and love the general public cherish for him. The people have rather become more anxious for him, for his health. Is even a hundredth part of this anxiety aroused in the mind of anybody for the sake of any sinner who possesses a disgraceful character, (or) for a convict punished under the Penal Code? To-day wherever you may go you will hear that everybody is discussing about this leader of the country. From the "ladies parliament" in the bathing-ghât to the British Parliament which is possessed of great glory, it is this matter (which is discussed) everywhere. In the village as soon as the illiterate and simple-minded cultivator meets anybody dressed like a gentleman, he (the cultivator) asks him "Sir, what is the news about our Babu?" As soon as a passenger boards a boat, the manjhi (helmsman) will ask him, "Sir, what is the news about Aswini Babu?" Among the passengers in a steamer you will hear that they are asking one another, "Does anybody know the news about Aswini Babu?" The chief thing which everybody coming on business from villages to towns wants to know is, "How is the Babu, when shall he be released, etc.?" If a man goes from a town to a village even the women eagerly ask (him), "When will Aswini Babu come? Has news about him been obtained lately, etc.?" These are not creations of the imagination. This is a purely true statement. Anybody may satisfy himself as to the truth of this statement if he likes. What is at the root of this heartfelt zeal of the general public, this immeasurable attraction of the heart, this genuine attachment? Will anybody believe that Aswini Kumar incites (literally, initiates) dacoits, (that) Aswini Kumar is the prime-mover in bringing about anarchy and unrest, that it is for this reason that (the public) have this devotion, this attachment for him? If this were possible then the worship of sinners and offenders would have been in vogue in all the countries. Why should not everybody be attracted towards one who had from his childhood devoted his life to the service of others, who used to provide food for the hungry man's mouth, who used to spend whole nights sitting near the head of a patient attacked by a disease, which was difficult to cure, who was the friend of the poor in danger, who was the preceptor and leader of the general public in doing good to them in every way. It is a matter of regret that the rulers of our destinies have not understood this or have pretended not to understand (this).

71. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July has an article under the heading noted in the margin in which it says:—

HITVARTA,
July 22nd, 1909.

The political prisoners.

The country, the people of which love it and live only to think of serving it, sacrificing all self-interest, is alone destined to rise one day. On the other hand if the people are selfish, estimate common good by their own share in it and are not moved by the happiness or grief of others, their country is doomed to fall. Like the wheel of a carriage pleasure and pain succeed each other in turn. As the late riser curses the cock which ushers in the morning so when the day of prosperity of a subject nation is about to dawn, Providence sends forth some men who take pride in their motherland and try to serve it with their whole heart and also draw the attention of self-seeking men to their duty: of course these words of

warning of the great men sound harsh in the ears of the selfish beings, but the great men never swerve from the right path; for some time they are taken for mad men, but the people soon begin to realize their sincerity and then follow them. When this happens the officials appointed to rule over the subject nation become alarmed and amazed, and for a time being stunned sit motionless, but at last do their duty. These officials are what is called a bureaucracy which transliterated in the Marwari language means "doers of evil." Political prisoners are those patriots whose punishment is considered by the bureaucracy as the accomplishment of its highest duty. There is a difference between an ordinary and a political prisoner. The latter is like the officials, a highly educated and well-behaved gentleman, well read in morals. Leaders of men like Mr. Tilak, the utterance of whose name in the morning is auspicious, are superior to most if not all the officials in ability, learning, statesmanship and popularity. These men when punished for political offences should not be treated like ordinary criminals. Their confinement for a time is all that is necessary, but we challenge Lord Morley, Lord Minto or any other official to say if the political prisoners between January 1907 and January 1909 have not been kept with other prisoners or treated just like these. It behoves the Indian Government not to treat them in the way they are doing, and they will earn the respect of the people.

BIR BHARAT,
July 25th, 1909.

72. Seeing that Mr. Tilak has been removed from Mandalay Jail, owing to an outbreak of cholera there, to Miktilla Jail, the *Bir Bharat* [Calcutta] of the 25th July remarks: How good it would have been if Mr. Tilak had been released from imprisonment on this occasion.

Removal of Mr. Tilak to
Miktilla Jail.

NAYAK,
July 22nd, 1909.

73. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July writes:—

The attention of the people of this country has been drawn to the ruin that is being annually caused to the country by famine and diseases, and this matter is agitated and discussed, though no remedy has as yet been found for it. But it is a great pity that no one cares to think of the ruin towards which litigations are driving the people. What can be more shameful than the fact that our countrymen are always ready to rush to court though they have no food to eat. We admit that a man of the world cannot help having quarrels with his neighbours; but there is absolutely no justification for going to law over anything and everything. Statistics show that the revenue obtained by the Government of Bengal last year from stamps and court-fees amounted to Rs. 1,51,29,000, besides Rs. 4,70,000 obtained by the sale of receipt stamps. It is Calcutta and the districts of Khulna, Jessore, Murshidabad, Cuttack and Hazaribagh that contributed by far the greater part of this revenue. The people of this province thus spent one and-a-half crores of rupees in stamps and court-fees alone. The fees paid to lawyers could not have been less than about four crores of rupees. Who will then say that the people of this country have no food to eat?

Arbitration courts.

Babu Aswini Kumar Datta did a great service to the country by trying his best to persuade the people to establish arbitration courts. He had been exerting himself in this direction since about 20 years before the days of the *swadeshi* agitation. His noble zeal had been crowned with success and arbitration courts were established in many villages in the Backergunge district. But alas! his absence has taken the life out of those products of his generous endeavours.

Of the numerous paths leading to ruin which our countrymen can betake themselves to the hankering for litigation is the widest; and until this path is blocked up there is no hope of any good being done to them. It is, therefore, necessary to establish arbitration courts in every village. This can be easily done if the people are awakened and are attached to one another. In every village there are many noble-minded men who possess great experience and are quite disinterested. The honesty of these men is above all question, and they are quite as competent to settle disputes as stipendiary judges and magistrates are. Arbitration courts composed of such men are sure to spare the people the trouble and expense of going to law. Is there no great man in this country who can earn the gratitude of the people by having arbitration courts established all over the country?

74. The *Samaj Darpan* [Salkea] of the 21st July exhorts its countrymen

An exhortation.

in their striving for *swadeshi* and for bettering their political status, not to work against the Government, but in loyal acceptance of British rule to imitate the virtues of the Englishman. If they can do this, God will persuade the English to grant them political power.

SAMAJ DARPAN,
July 21st, 1909.

75. Although it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the harm that

Mr. Gokhale on the situation.

Mr. Gokhale is doing to his country by his overgrown wisdom, the eyes of the people of Calcutta says the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July will be opened now. Though educated Mr. Gokhale is not an adept in worldly affairs. So long as Mr. Ranade lived, he kept Mr. Gokhale, who was his disciple, under control, and little fault can be found in what he said and did before and even five years after Mr. Ranade's death. He then began to relapse to his old ways and had thus to place himself under the tutelage of Sir Ferozeshah Mehta. The latter is silent at present, but Mr. Gokhale's capricious talk is on the increase and benefiting the authorities, as Sir Edward Baker commended his last speech to the attention of the Members of the Council and those outside it, and then ended his address with a threat of a measure in the operation of which nice discrimination between the guilty and innocent would not be possible. The speech was immediately wired to England and resulted in the interpellation in Parliament by Mr. Mackarness, M.P. The reply was a denial of any knowledge on the part of the Secretary of State of any such measure. That the threat is not an idle one is evident from the fact that it was followed by Mr. Duke's introducing the Calcutta Police Amendment Bill in the Council described elsewhere. The policy of repression or injustice which is embodied in the Bill and is ever on the increase is not calculated to benefit either the rulers or the ruled. The measure may help the authorities to put a stop to healthy popular movements, but it is not clear how far it would be effective in bringing the wrong-headed to the right path.

HITVARTA,
July 22nd, 1909

We have been hitherto, continues the paper, under the impression that only to suppress the wicked was the duty of the authorities, but now this impression will have to be modified. The Lieutenant-Governor wanted the people to co-operate with the Government, but the newspapers whose sole function is to inculcate sound advice are doing it as well as they can.

As for the leaders Government has no faith in them, and so they are helpless. Besides there is no evidence to show that they are the leaders of the anarchists, so how can they trace them. The new measure is more harmful than beneficial. Instead of reducing the power of the police, it proposes to increase it. The real well-wishers of the country are therefore pained to see the heads of the authorities so turned. It is said that the measure is necessitated by the police administration having become much complicated since the original Act was passed; but the Indians are not fools to be duped by such statements.

What is strange is that Sir Wyllie was murdered in London and a severe Act is going to be passed in Calcutta. Is there any connection between the two? Perhaps His Honour wants to be prepared against some future contingency.

The action of Dhingra has been condemned by his countrymen as well as his family members. One is therefore at a loss to understand why the Lieutenant-Governor should have assumed this terrible form.

76. The *Daily Hitabadi* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July writes as follows under the heading "Who asks for the moon?"—

"Who asks for the moon?"

Some time ago Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, said: "If you ask for the moon, I cannot give it to you. That is beyond my power." In reply we said: "We do not ask for the moon, nor do we ask for the sun, we only want to live happily, securely and in health." We never asked for the moon, nor shall we ever ask for it in future. For we can never forget that we are a conquered and a subject people, and depend upon the mercy of the English who are our rulers. But it is Sir Edward Baker who has truly asked for the moon from us. Rather, it may be possible for the English people, who are the conquerors of the world, to give the moon to a subject people; but for the Indian people, dependent and poor as they are,

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 23rd, 1909.

to presume to give the moon is mere braggadocio. We have already described the sort of the moon which His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, has demanded. We will open the matter a little more.

His Honour has asked for our co-operation. Instead of saying "asked for" we should rather say "demanded." We have all along said why we have refrained from co-operating with Government. But we shall say one word more—we shall ask *Chhoto Lat* Baker a few questions.

1. At the time of the *Ardhoday Yoga* our boys helped the Government in its work, and Government officers spoke in praise of their services in rapturous terms—they are not tired of praising them even now. But why, after that, is Government putting obstacles in their way when the Bengali boys offer their services on the occasion of other *mela yogas*? Why did not the Magistrate of Mymensingh allow the volunteers to work at the *Langal-bandh mela* on the occasion of *Astami Snan* in the Brahmaputra? Why do the police interfere with the work of the volunteers in other *melas* and festivities?

2. It is our belief that if Government had treated the boy-volunteers with a little consideration, they would have willingly helped the Government in other work as well. But since the time of the *Ardhoday Yoga* the *Englishman* and other Anglo-Indian newspapers have been publishing nothing but slanders and evil reports about the volunteers. The *Englishman* was terror-struck at the stare of the volunteers. With a view to prove them seditious and anti-British—the *Englishman* representative visited Barisal and other places. The present state of things is such that the bare mention of the volunteers throws the white officials into a paroxysm. All their associations, *samities*, *akhra*s and play-grounds have been closed. Formerly, many a big *Englishman* used to deliver magnificent speeches explaining the necessity of improving the health and bodily strength of our boys. But when the Bengali boys began seriously to cultivate physical strength, when they grew strong, capable of undergoing privations, cool, industrious, and undertook the arduous task of volunteers, and at the *Ardhoday Yoga* showed their fitness, it was then that the Government, we know not why, was startled; put many obstacles in the way of volunteering and the stigma of sedition was put upon them. After such a generous treatment can the Bengali presume to help Government in its work?

Does not *Chhoto lat Baker* know that the Indian Empire is not ours, but belongs to his own people? The King is yours, the country is yours, the subjects are yours; the people of your country are governing this country, your countryman is Commander-in-Chief and Military Commanders are saving this country from the jaws of the enemy, laws and regulations after your heart are in force in this country, and your merchandise has, as it were, enveloped this country. The business and trade are yours, the railway and the telegraph are yours, and yours is everything. We are living the lives of subjects merely through your kindness, your mercy, and your indifference. Such being the situation, can we help you in your administration of our own motion or at your call? Whatever you are doing or saying is being carried out. Since the time of the Bengal partition agitation, it is your officials who have inflicted a sword-cut upon the dead and thereby infused power even into the dead body. We only raised our heads once and cried "No." We said that wishing to improve the arts of our country we would not use foreign goods; that hoping to awaken the self-respect of our nation we would not imitate your *Bilati* civilisation; that in the precincts of our society, in our courtyard, in our kitchens, under the *tulsi* tree, around the *Rashmancha* (a platform on which the image of Krishna is placed at the time of rash festival), at the ghat on the Ganges, in the theatre hall, in the gatherings at *Sraddhas*, in the marriage hall, in the child-birth room and on the cremation ground, we would not permit even the shadow of the *bilati* luxury to come; that, being subjects we would pay you the revenue, would abide by your laws and regulations, would *salaam* your officials seven times from a distance on seeing them, but would not be suppliant for your mercy and like the *meni* (cat) would not wheel round and round your booted feet and rub our bodies against yours. If for uttering the tiny word "No," in this sense your administrative work is in danger of being hampered, then, it is you who should try to do things which would make us say "Yes" to all your utterances. Does not Sir Edward Baker know that the England-returned Bengali Babu no longer desires to

dress himself like the strange-looking frightful *Feringhi*? Even after touring through the whole world the sons of Bengal return to their homes like Bengalis. Nay, even those who have turned Christian live like Bengalis—like Hindus; they can not bear, they refuse, even to touch the shadow of the English. Under Muhammadan rule a Hindu when he embraced Islam found entrance into the dominant race and the stain of subjection did not appear prominent round his neck. But even when a blackie dresses like a *Feringhi*, turns Christian and like a dog begins to lick the unclean plates from your table you never permit him to enjoy equal rights with the whites. Even such a man as Satyendra Prasanna Singha, though he is your Law Member, and following your example, dresses like a full fledged saheb, is still nothing but a *kala admi* in the eye of the Court of Criminal Procedure,—is still a conquered subject. You seem to be always telling us, as in a *jatra* song of gone days, that “if as the result of meritorious deeds, performed

* Alluding to the story of Dhruva in the Mahabharata who was thus addressed by his step-mother.

through a succession of births, you succeed in getting yourself conceived in my womb even then, it is doubtful whether the desired consummation will come*.”

Cherishing such notions of inequality and distinction, such malice, such jealousy, and such pride trampling upon us, crushing us and disgracing us repeatedly and in various ways, not trusting us even with a blade of grass in our hands, you want our co-operations; we fail to understand why and with what force you do so. We ourselves have so long sung the praises of your English education, of your civilisation, of your methods of administration. It is we who, at the time of the Sepoy War, were oppressed by the rebellious sepoys for being *angrej ka guru*, that is the preceptors of the English. You were the substantial bodies, and we were your shadows, and in that character we used to wander throughout India. Why we have been so led astray now, it is for you to consider. If we are saying so many things so openly, it is because Sir Edward Baker is a Bengal Civilian. We ourselves have been taught under high souled Professors and Principals, have met and dealt with kind-hearted Civilians, the like of whom we do not meet with in these days. Those who had made us your own, are no longer taking part in the administration of India. Now all are Civilians holding service, who have come to this country, (merely) to continue their service, to earn their livelihood and win high positions; and we do not, therefore, touch their shadows even.

Again, the love for freedom which has awakened in us, is your handiwork. It is the study of your Burke, Mill, Beauchamp, Spencer, Bacon, Shelley, Byron, Milton and Tennyson that has awakened in us this love for freedom. Freedom is intimately mixed up with your language, literature, law, religion and morals. You are rulers and we are your subjects, and your contact has reawakened our aspirations. You should not oppose them, nor have you the means of doing so.

We have unburdened our minds and given free expression to our thoughts. His Honour Sir Edward Baker will peruse them and come to a right conclusion if indeed he is astute enough to comprehend them.

77. We are sick unto death, says the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July to be dinned into our ears that we are not yet fit for Self-Government. Lords Morley and Minto, the *Englishman* and the *Statesman* are repeatedly telling us the same thing. At first they contended that the orientals were not fit for Self-Government, but when Turkey gave them a crushing reply they turned and said that Turkey was connected with Europe, and therefore could have Self-Government. But now that Persia has also set up a Constitutional Government, the *Englishman* comes out with an article in its Sunday edition harping on its old tune but on the ground that there is at least a compact nation in each of these two countries, which therefore may have representative Government. It cannot be that the *Englishman* does not know the history of the nation to which it itself belongs. Who does not know that the English, the Irish and the Scotch are not one nation, and that there is a good deal of animosity among them, but the *Englishman* shamelessly asserts that there is no unity among the Indians.

HITVARTA,
July 22nd, 1909.

Anglo-Indian papers on Self-Government.

The paper here quotes from the Punjabi the letter of a Scotchman written by way of a retort to the article on the late David Hare as a true well-wisher of India by that paper pointing out that he was the well-wisher of India simply because he was a Scotch and not an Englishman.

BIR BHARAT,
July 25th, 1909.

78. "What is all this" is the heading of an article in the *Bir Bharat* [Calcutta] of the 25th July in which that paper quotes the *Englishman* and the *Times'* special correspondent

"What is all this."

to show the alarm created in the minds of Englishmen, the result of which is that their views about the situation in India are diametrically opposed to that of the people. The paper asks if the English will explain the cause of this difference.

HOWRAH HITAIISHI,
July 24th, 1909.

79. The *Howrah Hitaiishi* [Howrah] of the 24th July commends the recent

A scene in the British House of commons.

"scene" in the House of Commons between Mr. Thorne and Earl Winterton to the notice of those people, who deny the fitness of the popula-

tion of India as a whole for self-government, because in the National Congress camp some individuals holding different views show an excessive zeal to assert their own predominance.

BASUMATI,
July 24th, 1909.

80. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 24th July writes that Mr. Surendra

Mr. S. N. Banerji in England.

Nath Banerji's recent reception in England, however cordial and gratifying from a personal point of view, is wholly futile in the national political sense.

NAYAK,
July 27th, 1909.

"A sample of Administrative reform."

81. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 27th July has the following communicated article headed "A sample of Administrative Reform."

The *Delhi-Ba-laddoo* is supposed to be a kind of sweetmeat prepared at Delhi which every one is anxious to taste but which those who have tasted are most anxious to avoid.

What those men who cut capers at the mention of the *Dehli-ka-laddoo* (Delhi sweetmeat) of the administrative reforms will say to their hearts now that quinine in the shape of the new Police Bill has been administered to them is what we are thinking of.

We do not know Murali Saheb and cannot know him, so we have not been able to grasp the significance of (song of) his flute, nor have we tried to grasp either.

We have seen Murali Saheb in one aspect as author and we see him in

The word Murali which stands for Mr. Morley, means in Bengali a flute.

another aspect an Secretary of State. Had he been the author Murali we should have recognised him, but he is not that personage.

"This" refers to Krishna when he went to Muthura and after killing Kansa became practically the king of Judas.

O this is not the black jewel,
I see royal ornaments on the person of this ;
He had a garland of flowers on,
Round the neck of this, shine,
Gems and pearls and hundreds of other jewels.

So continued new experience has made us speechless*. He now upholds the

* Even as the transformation of Krishna from a cow-boy into a king astonished the milk-maids of Vrindavan.

deportation of the people of this country, and though knowing the partition of Bengal to be bad, proclaims it to be good. Being struck with shafts in the form of questions relating to the deportations

in the Parliamentary phalanx he becomes restless in pain. On his questioners, he vomits forth fiery strong poison. The *Dehli-ka-laddoo* of administrative reforms has been prepared with his own hands by such a worthy man. Having regard to this it is a matter of surprise that some persons' tongues should water for that.

Reader, we have not sat down to sing a song to Siva while (really) meaning to husk paddy: If immediately before getting the

Plantain leaves out of which Indians eat a feast.
Vrindavan where Krishna played with the milk-maid.

Dehli-ka-laddoo of administrative reform which is very soon to be distributed into our dishes (lit. leaves), an arrangement is made for such

police law, will the party of milk-maids of Braja be able to preserve their respect and attachment in regard to the taste of *Dehli-ka-laddoo*? Not that alone after the murder of Curzon-Wyllie the ruler of Bengal revealing his own terrific aspect has said: "If the like occurs again, I shall not discriminate between the innocent and the guilty."

So it does not seem to us that the rulers of this country are acting in tune with (the spirit of) the administrative reforms.

So much for the lack of agreement between Murali Saheb and the Government of India. We are now reminded in regard to the officials of this country of the old Jatra Song sung by couple of songsters.

Jatra is the name of an Indian music party accompanied by dancing and acting.

Who can recognise thee?
O Thou who art the object of all men's thought,
My thoughts come to an end in attempting to
recognise Thee.

We thought that the surgical treatment which the Hon'ble the Chief Justice arranged for the police sore on the occasion of the Midnapur Bomb imbroglio will allay the deadly complaint to some extent. But men expect one thing and Providence brings about another. The officials seem particularly active in keeping the incurable disease concealed: this is what we are led to think on a review of their ways and signs. One by one we shall speak out as to why we are being led to think (so).

(1) Those men whose disgraceful doings are being publicly exposed by the High Court, who are fit to sit on the same seat as offenders, even those men are getting full (lit. 16 annas) of opportunities, have even got the right of cross-examining the witnesses. And inspite of the petition, representation and intercession, a number of men of the opposite party had not got that right. Alas! alasm! is this to be called arrangement for an impartial inquiry.

Some men like the Raja of Narajol inspite of praying for an indemnity in order that they might freely expose the incomparable good deeds of the police did not get it. At this time of the inquiry also the pampered police succeeded in his screening Peari Babu's servant with that end of the cloth which covers the breast as it were. But we say there was no need for entering on the business at all, if so much restraint and secrecy were to be kept up.

Here also the same inconsistency. Here also we see no consistency between the action of the High Court and those of the officials. So gradually the officials and their doings are coming to be more and more unintelligible to us.

82. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 27th July writes under the heading "Advice Gratis":—

Advice gratis.

Lord Curzon even on return to England has not been able to get over his hatred of Indians. At a speech he made at Southport in England, he said that Government "lacks in firmness and strength in their policy in India." We do not understand the sense of these words. We cannot see what lack of firmness and severity there is in the administration of India. We see that those who have disobeyed the laws of the State have been punished, and, in particular cases, the punishment has been more severe than was justified by the offence. We also see that innocent men also are being punished. It is true that, in certain cases, the offender has by hiding himself screened himself from punishment, but the escape of the offender is no sign of a want of firmness on the part of the rulers. We fail to understand wherein a lack of strength on the part of the rulers is manifest. The military strength of the Government has not dwindled, neither has the number of policeman, which has rather gone up. The money which is being spent on putting down the unrest is enough to carry on a big war. No section of the population of the country has summoned the ruling power to open battle, nor defeated it. Where then does the rulers display their weakness? As natives of the country, though we are lacking in learning and administrative capacity, and though not holding any public office, we can boldly say, from what little we know of our own country and countrymen, that the flame of unrest in the country is dying out. We do not admit that there ever was in the country any real sedition by which we mean any attempt to subvert British rule. Such attempt or intention to make such attempt we never saw and never could discover. It is true that the *Yugantar* for a time published incitements to violence and murder. But was not all that merely the insane declaration of a handful of immature shortsighted youths? Were the people of the land really stirred

NAYAK,
July 27th, 1909.

ever so little by those writings? And if any of them were, were they not also lunatics? We think the youths guilty of this madness, instead of being sent to jail, should have been confined in lunatic asylums. It may be urged that one or two murders have been committed. But then these murders may lead to the loss of lives, but can they make a country free, can they bring about the destruction of British rule? Murders may be indicative of personal grudge, or hatred, but is the existing machinery of State incapable of putting them down—are powder, shot and arms to be called into requisition for the purpose? We fail to understand why Government should unnecessarily become more firm or hard than it is, and why the officials in England give such improper advice? It is not proper that the remedy should be stronger than the disease. And after all, what is the good of being more harsh? Can the offender if he is awarded 20 stripes instead of 10, more easily realise his guilt. If there be discontent in the minds of the people of the country regarding the administration, will that discontent be converted into contentment, if the administration is made more repressive? Or is it that if one innocent man is punished the whole body of mad boys would get their insanity cured, and those men who remaining in the back-ground are committing mischief would come to their senses and be overwhelmed with a feeling of loyalty? Harshness has no virtue hidden, in it calculated to create contentment in place of discontent. As conductors of newspapers we are trying our best to remove discontent from the land and trying to remove ill-feeling between the rulers and the ruled by pointing out the merits and defects of the administration. Outsiders cannot realise the difficulty and arduousness of our task. The people of the country and the rulers of the land cannot always understand that it is not easy to preach loyalty and respect to the rulers while keeping intact the sense of nationality awakened in the country.

HITVARTA,
July 22nd, 1909.

83. Referring to Shyamji Krishnavarma's letter to the *Times* denying his having anything to do with Sir Curzon Wyllie's murder, &c., the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd July says that no sensible man can agree with Mr. Varma in what he has said. To apply the word martyr to Madan Lal Dhingra is an abuse of that term. Notions like his will be great obstacles in the way of progress. Englishmen are not prepared to leave India bag and baggage at a moment's notice.

MARWARI,
July 23rd, 1909.

84. The *Marwari* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July repudiates the views of Krishnavarma on political assassinations.

A repudiation.

BANGAVASI,
July 24th, 1909,
etc.

85. Referring to Krishnavarma's recent letter in the *Times* regarding the London assassination, the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 24th asks whether he has gone mad.

In the same connection, the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 24th July writes that nothing is to be gained by dreaming dreams from Paris of an extensive revolutionary movement in India—a movement of which the bulk of the population have not even heard.

BHARAT MITRA,
July 24th, 1909.

86. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 24th July quotes the substance of Krishnavarma's letter to the *Times* denying his connection with and approving of Sir William Curzon Wyllie's murder as also his so-called predictions.

BANGAVASI,
July 24th, 1909.

87. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 24th July supports the proposal made in Parliament by Dr. Rutherford that if a pension be granted to Lady Curzon Wyllie it should be paid out of the English and not the Indian treasury.

The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 23rd July also supports Dr. Rutherford's proposal for a pension to Lady Curzon Wyllie out of the British treasury.

URIYA PAPERS.

URIYA AND
NAVASAMVAD,
July 14th, 1909.

88. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 14th July states that the Maharaja of Bamra has made a donation of Rs. 5,000 towards the cost of a building that is being erected for the benefit of the poorer Indian girls.

89. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 14th July supports the proposal of the *Nilachal Samachar* that the *maths* in Puri must join together in providing the lepers in the Puri Leper Asylum with beddings and medicines, without which they cannot live.

URIYA AND
NAVASAMVAD,
July 14th, 1909.

The demise of Lord Ripon mourned.

India.

90. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 14th July mourns the death of Lord Ripon, who was the father of Local Self-Government in India.

91. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 14th July is of opinion that History classes should be opened in the Ravenshaw College without any more delay, as about 30 students want to study History, but cannot be admitted into the College as it has not been affiliated to the University in that subject.

URIYA AND
NAVASAMVAD,
July 14th, 1909.

URIYA AND
NAVASAMVAD,
July 14th, 1909.

The proposed affiliation of the Ravenshaw College to the Calcutta University in History.

92. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 15th July warns the Uriyas of the risk that they are incurring by quarrelling with the Bengalis, who are in more favourable circumstances in Orissa. Almost all the big zamindaries in Orissa are in the hands of the Bengalis, while the local trade is in the hands of the Marwaris and Kochis. The number of petty Uriya zamindars and traders in Orissa is also very small, for the domiciled Bengalis and local Muhammadans reign supreme in those two lines. The doors of Government service are almost closed against the Uriyas. They cannot become Judges, Magistrates or Engineers. Their chance of becoming Munsifs, Assistant Surgeons, Sub-Judges or Assistant Engineers is very small. A few Uriya Deputy Magistrates or Sub-Deputy Magistrates can only be expected so long as the nomination system is in force. Once the competition system is introduced, that even cannot be possible. Under these circumstances, the Uriyas must suffer if they quarrel with the Bengalis or other foreigners.

SAMVAD VAHIKA,
July 15th, 1909.

93. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 15th July gives a list of irregularities of the Balasore Police exposed. *versus* Uday Das and others, that resulted in the acquittal of the accused, and suggests that the higher authorities should take note of them.

SAMVAD VAHIKA,
July 15th, 1909.

94. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 15th July cites a number of cases in which the Indian Police is said to have acted wrongly, and observes that Government has made itself unpopular on account of its bad police, supported by a number of equally bad judicial officers.

SAMVAD VAHIKA,
July 15th, 1909.

95. Referring to the enquiries in connection with the Midnapur Bomb case, the *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 15th July asserts on the authority of the *Indian Daily News* that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was in favour of an open public enquiry, but that His Honour was overruled by the Government of India, and that the members of the latter Government were also divided in their counsels. The writer is sorry to note that Sir Edward Baker and Sir Lawrence Jenkins have become very unpopular among the Bengal Civilians by pursuing an honourable course of justice and rectitude.

SAMVAD VAHIKA,
July 15th, 1909.

96. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 15th July states that some bullocks and buffaloes in Domepara in the Cuttack district were killed by tigers. The people of that State are therefore very uneasy.

SAMVAD VAHIKA,
July 15th, 1909.

97. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 15th July states that out of four women who were bathing in the river Baiturni near Balighai, two were drowned.

SAMVAD VAHIKA,
July 15th, 1909.

98. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 16th July states that the Manager and Printer of the Jagannath Press in Puri were fined Rs. 20 and Rs. 10, respectively for publishing an obscene book named *Nakhakshatata lakshana* and observes that the Managers and Printers of Presses

NILACHAL
SAMACHAR,
July 16th, 1909.

The Manager and the Printer of the Jagannath Press in Puri fined for publishing an obscene book.

in Orissa should minutely examine the manuscripts that come to them for publication in future before putting them in type. The writer further states that there are many other obscene books, especially those of Upendra Bhanj, which find free circulation in Orissa, but which are neither detected nor published.

NILACHAL
SAMACHAR,
July 16th, 1909.

99. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 16th July laments the predominance of the Bengali foreigner, who has, by the help of the Railway, found easy and free access to the Puri town, where he has, become so rich and powerful as to take the Municipality into his hands. A large number of Bengali gentlemen have offered themselves as candidates for Municipal seats in Puri, which will soon fall vacant. The Uriya gentlemen have either become discouraged or indifferent, for their names do not appear in the election list. Thus the out-look of the impending Municipal elections in the Puri town is entirely in favour of the Bengali gentlemen there. The rate-payers do not, in the absence of Uriya leaders, know what to do at the present juncture. They entirely look up to the Government for their good. The Editor devotes half of his paper to a discussion of Municipal affairs in the Puri town and advises the rate-payers to elect only those, who are competent and good men and in whom they have confidence.

GARJATBASINI,
July 17th, 1909.

100. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 17th July states that the anniversary of the King-Emperor's Birthday was celebrated with great *eclat* at Athgarh, whither the Raja of Balarampur and some independent gentlemen of the Cuttack town had proceeded to take part in the proceedings.

GARJATBASINI,
July 17th, 1909.

101. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 17th July states that food-stuffs especially rice and *ghee* in the Talcher State have become a little cheaper.

GARJATBASINI,
July 17th, 1909.

102. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 17th July thanks the Raja of Khallicote for his liberality in providing the Ravenshaw Girls' School with a carriage and a pair of horses. The Raja is known to take a great deal of interest in the cause of female education in Orissa.

GARJATBASINI,
July 17th, 1909.

103. Referring to the atrocious murders committed in London by a young man belonging to Punjab, the *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 17th July is sorry to observe that the Englishmen in England must have been by this time very much displeased with the Indians and that it is the ill-luck of India that such a tragedy has been enacted by one of her sons. May God give good counsels to the Indians!

GARJATBASINI,
July 17th, 1909.

104. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 17th July states that a tiger has become so troublesome in Bamra as to prevent people from going about freely on public roads.

GARJATBASINI,
July 17th, 1909.

105. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 17th July is sorry to observe that cholera is still raging in Bhuvaneswar. and that a daughter of Babu Durga Charan Pahi, the local Civil Hospital Assistant, died of the disease.

GARJATBASINI,
July 17th, 1909.

Weather and agriculture in Barpali.

106. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 17th July states that the agricultural operations in Barpali are going on well on account of a favourable weather.

GARJATBASINI,
July 17th, 1909.

The weather in Athgarh.

107. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 17th July states that the weather in Athgarh is favourable to agriculture.

UTKALBARTA,
July 17th, 1909.

108. A correspondent of the *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 17th July suggests that an additional peon may be granted to the Kothar Post Office in the Bhadrak sub-division of the Balasore district, who may be directed to make deliveries in Nadigan and other neighbouring villages twice in the week. The people of those villages complain that they do not receive their *dâk* regularly.

109. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 17th July states that the depredation committed by tigers in Domepara continue as before, and that this has become simply intolerable to the residents of that estate. UTKALBARTA,
July 17th, 1909.
- Depredations of tigers continue in Domepara.
110. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 17th July states that the Pans belonging to village Bentkar in the Cuttack district are engaged in the trade of killing cattle by poison and of delivering over their hides to the dealers in that article. Steps should be taken to stop this evil practice at once. UTKALBARTA,
July 17th, 1909.
- Cattle-killing by poison in Bentkar.
111. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 17th July states that the prospects of paddy crop in Binjharpur in the Cuttack district are good. UTKALBARTA,
July 17th, 1909.
- The prospects of the paddy crop in the Cuttack district good.
112. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 17th July mourns the death of Lord Ripon in England at the advanced age of 82, and observes that no Viceroy was more popular in India than he. The writer then quotes incidents from the period of his administration to shew that the Indians had something like family affection for him. UTKALBARTA,
July 17th, 1909.
- The demise of Lord Ripon mourned.
113. Referring to the establishment of a library at Chaitanyapur in Barakhemundi, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July observes that there should be a library at every *Bhagabat* house available in Orissa. This will help the diffusion of knowledge among the people. UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.
- The conversion of every *Bhagabat* house in Orissa into a library proposed.
114. A correspondent of the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July, by name Sheikh Wajedula, states that Pans and Mehters poison cattle in the Orissa Garjats with the object of securing hides for traders in that article, and that, when the matter is brought to the notice of the Garjat Chiefs, they do not take much interest in it through fear of losing money promised to them by the *Ijraders* of hides. Thus not only the Muhammadans, but the Hindus also are interested in being indifferent to a crime which is being perpetrated before their very eyes. UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.
- Poisoning of cattle in the Orissa Tributary States.
115. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July states that there having been a breach in the southern embankment of river Kharsua near Kantipur, the residents of that village and other neighbouring mouzas submitted a representation to the Public Works Department, praying to close the breach as soon as practicable, and having received no reply, closed the breach themselves, as the rainy season had far advanced. The officers of the Public Works Department have issued a notice on the residents of those villages, directing them to open the breach on the ground that the closing of the breach might injuriously affect the northern embankment of the river. The writer hopes that these disputes will be amicably settled without doing any injury to the residents of villages situated on both the sides of the river. UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.
- A dispute between villagers and the Public Works Department.
116. In giving an account of the prosecution of Maina Bai under section 373 of the Indian Penal Code by the Cuttack Police, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July takes leave to observe that the Police did not show sufficient intelligence in studying the details of the case, and therefore failed to secure the conviction of the accused, who were discharged. UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.
- Observations on the intelligence of the Cuttack Police.
117. Referring to the last report of the Survey and Settlement Department, Bengal, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July points out that the Head of the Settlement Department wants to favour the raiyats at the expense of the zamindars, whose rights he utterly forgets. The zamindar is the proprietor of the land which he holds and has every right to the waste or uncultivated lands that may be found in his *tauzi*. UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.
- A word in favour of the Orissa zamindars.
118. A correspondent of the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July points out that there are many zamindars in Orissa who do not issue rent-receipts in proper form to their tenants. Even the officers of the Canal Revenue Department omit to mention the area of land, the survey number, UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.
- A word in favour of the Orissa raiyats.

and the khasra number in the receipts, which they issue to the payers of water-rates. These informal receipts issued by the zemindars and the Canal Revenue Department do not go in as evidence in Civil suits. This state of things ought to be removed at once.

UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.

119. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July writes a long article to show that the murder of Sir Curzon-Wyllie has made the Indians very sorry on account of the charge of ingratitude, which has been brought against them by the atrocious act of the murderer Madan Lal Dhingra. As his family was indebted to Sir Curzon-Wyllie in various ways, he should have been the last person to commit the atrocious deed that has thrown England and India into the greatest convulsion imaginable. Murder according to Hindu scriptures is a sinful act, and no nation ever prospered by committing sinful deeds. The Indians must pause, reflect over the matter, and act in such a way as to avoid the charge of base ingratitude that has been brought against them. The ingratitude of Madan Lal may be contrasted with the gratitude of Lady Wyllie and other English ladies and gentleman, who showered flowers on the coffin of Dr. Lalcaea, who wanted to save Sir Curzon-Wyllie, though unsuccessfully. The funeral ceremony of the doctor was attended by a large number of sympathising Englishmen, including the representative of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India.

UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.

120. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July states that one woman belonging to village Barvari and another woman belonging to village Dhanasara, in pargana Sargara, subdivision Jajpur, district Cuttack, died of snake-bite.

UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.

121. In giving an account of the working of the Lewis Jubilee Sanitarium in Darjeeling as drawn from its annual report for 1908, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July points out that the Sanitarium has done great good to the educated community in Bengal, and that it cannot do more good without the help of public subscriptions, as its present wants are many. The institution stands in need of extension, which cannot be effected without the help of the public. The writer therefore exhorts the gentry and nobility in Orissa to come forward to its help without any delay.

UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.

122. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July states that the weather is favourable to agriculture in the Cuttack district.

UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.

123. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July is of opinion that Babu Basudeb Kar, the doctor in charge of the Hospital at Satyabadi, is entitled to public gratitude on account of his services in connection with cholera patients, of whom there were 55 at that place during the last car festival, and out of whom he succeeded in saving 15. Most of these cases were simply hopeless.

UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.

124. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July mourns the death of Lord Ripon whom the Indians will never forget, and whose name will be recorded in bright colour in the pages of Indian history. He granted Local Self-Government to the Indians, who must be always grateful to him. He repealed the Act by which the Vernacular Press was gagged, and thereby earned the gratitude of the Indian people. No other Viceroy has found such a firm foot-hold in the hearts of the Indians as Lord Ripon.

UTKALDIPIKA,
July 17th, 1909.

125. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July states that Miss Narmada Kar is reading the Intermediate course and Miss Dass the B. A. course in Calcutta, but their humble means do not allow them to go on with their studies successfully. The writer therefore requests the Government to grant them special scholarships, whereby they would be able to overcome their present difficulties.

126. The *Utkalīpika* [Cuttack] of the 17th July regrets to state that Government has refused to grant the prayer of the Orissa Association in connection with the affiliation of the Ravenshaw College to the Calcutta University in History, and observes that this has disappointed a goodly number of students who would otherwise have been freely admitted into that College.

UTKALDIPKA,
July 17th, 1909.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA SASTRI,

Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 31st July, 1909.

REPORT (PART II)

ON

NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending Saturday, 31st July 1909.

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REPORT PART II

NATIVE OWNED ENTERPRISES IN HAWAII

Week ending July 31st 1964

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**LIST OF NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED AND DEALT WITH
BY THE BENGAL SPECIAL BRANCH.**

[As it stood on 1st January 1909.]

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
1	"Amrita Bazar Patrika"	Calcutta	Daily	K. P. Chatterji, age 45, Brahmin	4,000
2	"Behar Herald"	Patna	Weekly	Monmatha Nath Dey, age 40, Pleader of Bankipore.	500
3	"Beharee"	Bankipore	Bi-weekly	Sham Sankar Sahai, Pleader, and P. P. Sharma of Muzaffarpur.	750
4	"Bengalee"	Calcutta	Daily	S. N. Banerji, Kali Prasana Sen, age 38, and Kali Nath Roy.	6,000
5	"Bihar"	Patna	Weekly	Kali Kumar Sinha, B.A., B.L., Pleader of Bankipore, age 35, Kayastha.	750
6	"Hindoo Patriot"	Calcutta	Daily	Srish Chandra Sarbadhikari, age 40, and Koylash Ch. Kanjilal, Pleader, Sealdah Small Cause Court.	800
7	"Indian Empire"	Ditto	Weekly	Kesab Chandra Banerjee, B.A., age 45, Brahmin, and Panchanon Mazumdar, age 35, Hindu Baidya.	1,500
8	"Indian Mirror"	Ditto	Daily	Bai Norendra Nath Sen Bahadur, age 60, Head of the Mahabodi Society.	1,000
9	"Indian Nation"	Ditto	Weekly	N. N. Ghose, age 58, Bar-at-Law	500
10	"Indian Tit-Bits"	Ditto	Do.	Satis Ch. Mukerjee alias M. Suttie, age 27, Brahmin.	300
11	"Kayastha Messenger"	Gaya	Do.	Jugal Kishore, age 36, Kayastha	500
12	"Moslem Chronicle"	Calcutta	Do.	Abdul Hamid, B.A., age 37, Muhammadan.	700
13	"Musalman"	Ditto	Do.	A. Rasul and M. Rahman, Muhammadans	500
14	"Reis and Rayyet"	Ditto	Do.	Jogesh Chandra Dutt, age 58, a Calcutta house-owner.	500
15	"Star of Utkal"	Cuttack	Do.	Kherode Ch. Roy Chowdhry, age 68, retired Head-master of a Government College.	400
16	"Telegraph"	Calcutta	Do.	Satyendra Nath Bose, B.A., age 31	3,000

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS.

1	"Day's News"	Calcutta	Daily	Babu Premananda Bharati, age 50, Hindu.	500
2	"Karmayogin"	Ditto	Weekly	Editor's name not known for certain. Arabindo Ghose is one of the contributors to the paper.	2,000

LIST OF NATIVE-OWNED MINERAL AND DRIFT WITNESS
IN THE MEXICAN REGION

July 1, 1900

No.	Name of Property	Where Located	Owner	Value	Remarks
1	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
2	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
3	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
4	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
5	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
6	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
7	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
8	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
9	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
10	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
11	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
12	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
13	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
14	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
15	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
16	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
17	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
18	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
19	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
20	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF NATIVE-OWNED MINERAL AND DRIFT WITNESS

No.	Name of Property	Where Located	Owner	Value	Remarks
21	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	
22	San Juan de los Rios	Chihuahua	Don Juan de los Rios	100,000	

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—Police.

664. The *Bengalee* declares that there is nothing to show that the Calcutta Police, or the police in India generally, deserve a fraction of the confidence which is sought to be

Function of the police.

placed in them, or that even the Commissioner of Police is fit to be entrusted with the large discretion which is sought to be given to a Sub-Inspector on the spot in dealing with processions and public meetings. If the police were a body of men who felt like the London "Bobby" that their chief function was to assist the public, and if they acted up to this first principle of their existence, no one would question their right to have increased powers if such powers were necessary. The Indian police, however, do not exist to assist the public, but to terrorise over them and keep them, through fear, from flying at each other's throats or perhaps from combining against the Government. A policeman who sets about his work with this idea necessarily makes himself obnoxious to a peaceful citizen.

If a complete revolution in the character of the Calcutta Police could be effected, if from the *parawallah* to the Commissioner every one could feel that he exists only to assist the public, if the presence of the police at meetings and processions only ensured orderliness, there would be some excuse for entrusting them with larger powers. Till then, the people have too much of police rule and police *lathi*, too much of lying accusations and overzealous persecution, too much of vexatious house-searches and stupid espionage, to think of any addition to the powers of the police in dealing with political meetings and processions.

665. If, according to the *Englishman*, the police know the places in Calcutta which are the haunts of assassins, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* enquires why are they not arrested and brought to trial? Is it because the

The *Englishman* and the haunts of assassins.

occupation of the police will be gone if these pests of society are rooted out? The Criminal Investigation Department and the ordinary police may now be said to have their own way without any efficient control from their superiors, and are not taken to task even for blunders of the grossest kind. The Government should ask for an explanation from the Criminal Investigation Department now that the information has been brought to light by the *Englishman*.

(h)—General.

666. Anent the recent resolution of Government regarding the purchase of stores, the *Bengalee* says that as in India very few articles required by the Government are manufactured by Indians, the decision of the

Swadeshi and the purchase of Government stores.

Government will benefit only such Europeans as have built up large manufacturing industries in this country. The whole charm of the resolution will vanish if only things are looked at from this point of view, and it will be nothing surprising if in the near future the people are confronted with the spectacle of a more rigorous exploitation of India by non-Indians than they have witnessed before. While the Government of the United Kingdom provides liberally for the technical instruction of English youths, and the British manufacturers provide for their subsequent practical training, Indian youths are left to work their way up amidst insuperable difficulties while the manufacturers have to depend on Europe for skilled and qualified technically trained workers. To start a free competition between two such unequal elements and to rely on this competition for the development of local industries is the most undignified *alibi* for protection that the journal can think of. There is only one way in which practical and far-reaching results might be achieved in the field of indigenous industries and manufactures if only Government were in earnest:—in the first place, by introducing into the Government of the country what is called fiscal autonomy to

BENGALUR,
22nd July 1902.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
27th July 1902.

BENGALUR,
20th July 1902.

empower the people to levy a protective duty, at least for a time, which will stimulate home production; and, secondly, by establishing throughout the country primary and secondary schools and colleges for the technical education of young men who at present go without any education at all. Resolutions, forged at the laboratories of the Commerce and Industry Department, will not work a permanent change in the policy of the Government, and may become a dead letter after a time. Every such resolution must be accompanied by practical proposals for the education of the young, and unless this is done the public must be excused if they doubt the intentions underlying official resolutions.

HINDOO PATRIOT,
22nd July 1909.

667. The *Hindoo Patriot* states that the great drawback in the way of the development of indigenous industries in India was hitherto the want of any patronage from the Government of the country. The journal does not understand why the Government is not willing to allow Indian firms to compete with firms in England in tendering for goods manufactured locally, if they could be had at cheaper rates. It is therefore a matter for congratulation that the Secretary of State has now given his assent to the patronage by Government of indigenous stores in India, though under certain restrictions. It is hoped that nothing will be done by those who are to carry out the new rules, that will militate against the spirit of the resolution.

Purchase of stores by the Government.

INDIAN MIRROR,
24th July 1909.

668. The *Indian Mirror* regards the Resolution regulating the procedure for the purchase in India of stores for the use of Government as a striking proof that the Government, far from being opposed to the interests of true swadeshism, is willing to do all in its power to promote them. It should be recognised by every one that a Government that proceeds to found industrial and commercial schools, to send Indian students to foreign countries for a special training, to encourage local swadeshi fairs and exhibitions, to disseminate industrial knowledge among the people by various other means and, lastly, to patronise the Indian industries by such a measure as the one recently passed, cannot be other than one of the truest friends of honest swadeshism.

669. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* records its approval of the resolution of Government regarding the purchase of stores which it regards as an attempt towards giving Indian industries a chance to compete with foreign ones on fair ground. That the new rules will, in a measure, help the promotion of swadeshism goes without saying.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
26th July 1909.

Government and the purchase of stores.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
21st July 1909.

670. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* congratulates Sir Herbert Risley on his elevation to the post of the Home Member. Rightly or wrongly an impression prevails that Sir Herbert has a prejudice against the Kayasthas of Bengal. If so, the journal trusts he will now rise superior to it having such a Kulin Kayastha for his colleague in the Executive Council as Mr. S. P. Sinha.

671. The *Bengalee* regards the Government of India's reply to the letter addressed to them by Babu Sukumar, son of Babu K. K. Mitra, requesting to be furnished with certain information regarding the state of his father's health, as disappointing. If the statements in the Government's letter were definite, those in Babu Sukumar's letter were no less so. The public are surely entitled to know which is the truer version. If Babu Sukumar is right, the treatment accorded to his father is the reverse of what it ought to be. The deportees may, under the regulation, be detained; they ought never to be treated like prisoners, far less should they be confined. It is hoped the authorities will not inflict additional suffering upon persons who have already been grievously wronged by being deprived of their liberty without any trial and without even knowing definitely the charge against them.

BENGALIE,
22nd July 1909.

Pabu K. K. Mitra.

INDIAN MIRROR,
23rd July 1909.

672. The *Indian Mirror* thinks the answer to the question asked in some quarters as to how such a movement as that alluded to by Sir Edward Baker is to be set on foot, is an exceedingly simple one. Sir Edward has pointed out that if parents and guardians, educationists and students, will

Sir Edward Baker's appeal for a campaign of co-operation.

act in concert and co-operate with the Government, all traces of the mischievous propaganda of anarchy and terror will be wiped out. Parents and guardians have an obvious duty to perform towards their boys, and that is to see that they are brought up in a proper and worthy manner. Let them see that their boys do not contract evil associations or indulge in studies and thoughts which are injurious to their moral welfare. Above everything, the boys should not be allowed to participate in political agitation. If these things are looked into by all parents and guardians, there is no doubt a better moral tone will be introduced among the youths of the country. The journal is confident that if vigilance committees were organised throughout the country, they would be of immense service in the suppression of such evils. If there is one thing more than another which requires to be emphasised at this moment, it is the necessity of earnest and determined action on the part of every section of the community to bring the unrest to a speedy termination. Every loyal and honest citizen should exert his influence towards this end, and one who does not, will certainly be regarded as an enemy to the Government and his fellow-countrymen.

673. The *Karmayogin* vigorously denounces the recent speech of Sir Edward Baker in the Bengal Council as a mass of indiscretion from beginning to end, and declares that the speech itself was one of those indiscretions which statesmen occasionally commit, but which live in their results long after the immediate occasion has been forgotten.

KARWAYOGIN,
24th July 1909.

674. In explanation of what Sir Edward Baker really intended by his declaration, the *Hindoo Patriot* says it is well known that since His Honour assumed the reins of the Government of Bengal, he has given great relief to the people in the matter of police raids, house-searches and domiciliary visits, but if anarchical crimes are revived in the country, as there is reason to fear from the foul deed committed in London, the police will, no doubt, adopt stringent measures to unearth the crimes, in which case, as it often happens, the innocent might suffer with the guilty. It is to impress this fact upon the mind of the general public that Sir Edward asked them to co-operate with the Government, so that such a contingency might be obviated. He has thus acted as a friend in reminding the people of the possible danger that might befall them in neglecting to arrest the progress of sedition and anarchy. It is contended by some that as the recent crime was not committed in India, and that even not by a Bengali, there was no occasion for the Lieutenant-Governor to warn the people in the manner he has done. But they forget that the propaganda of the anarchists is not confined to a particular place or to a particular nationality, and as Bengal has already got the unenviable notoriety of being the scene of the first anarchical crime, it is but natural that its people should be warned to be on their guard against the repetition of such crimes in future. His Honour does not want the people to work as detectives, which work can very well be left to the police, but he wants the leaders of the different communities to bring their moral influence to bear on those over whom their influence extends, so that they may be led no longer to extol assassins as martyrs or to impute uncharitable motives to the Government.

HINDOO PATRIOT,
24th July 1909.

675. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* enquires why the officials whose conduct was impugned by the highest judicial Court in the land in connection with the Midnapore case were not forthwith brought to book. The police officials vauntingly say that the reason is a political one, since, if an important official of the force were punished, it would have a demoralising effect on the Department. The Government consequently finds itself in an awkward position when it has to punish an important police official. It has been stated in certain papers that the object of the Midnapore enquiry is to belittle the High Court. The idea is ridiculous for it would be something like committing suicide on the part of the Government. It would not, however, be strange if such an idea arose in some minds, since the High Court has found the grossest of irregularities which have been apparently overlooked by Government.

Romance based on reality, or the discovery of a horse's egg.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
23rd July 1909.

INDIAN EMPIRE,
23rd July 1909.

676. Referring to a memorial submitted by certain medical practitioners of Nagpur to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, praying that a Medical Board be appointed to report on the health of Mr. Achyat Rao Kolhatker, who was convicted to fifteen months' rigorous imprisonment for reproducing Babu Arabinda Ghose's speech in his paper *Dasha Sank*, and who was reported to be in a very bad state of health, the *Indian Empire* says:—"We believe no language is strong enough to suit the requirements of the case, and we are simply lost in wonder how in the British Empire such unnecessary hardship, bordering on actual cruelty, can be heaped on a gentleman whose only offence—if offence it was—was to print certain speeches in his paper. The treatment accorded to this educated Indian publicist would hardly fit in with the case of even murderers, dacoits, incendiaries and vile wretches who outrage women, hardened in crime and inured to toil and hardship. The public are therefore at a loss to understand what the authorities hope to gain by such unreasonable rigour. If they believe that it can in any way serve as a deterrent they must be labouring under a huge hallucination. The only result it may produce is to excite popular sympathy with the prisoner and canonise the victim as a martyr in public estimation. And this we believe can never be desirable in the present state of public feeling."

BENGALIEE,
24th July 1909.

677. In consideration of the increase in the revenue derived from income-tax in Bengal, the *Bengalee* states that if the tax is to be retained as a permanent item in the fiscal system of the country, it ought to be levied with a consideration for the high cost of living which has now come to stay. A graduated scale, with abatements, up to a certain income, as well as the further raising of the minimum limit, should be adopted in order to give relief to the petty traders and clerks who have for some years past been hard hit by the rise in prices of food-stuffs and other necessities of life.

BENGALIEE,
25th July 1909.

678. In contrasting the punishment awarded to Mr. Horsley, printer of the *Indian Sociologist*, with that awarded to the printer of the *Yugantar*, the *Bengalee* declares that the brutal punishment awarded in this country in political crimes served no useful purpose, but on the other hand did a lot of mischief. English Judges never make a mistake of this kind. The sentences they pass are proportionate to the offences committed. They know that excessive punishments not only shock humanity and outrage the spirit of justice, but by weakening the motive in intending offenders to choose a less grave instead of a graver offence do a distinct disservice to the cause of order. When will Indian Magistrates and Judges learn this wholesome truth?

BENGALIEE,
25th July 1909.

679. The *Bengalee's* chief objection to regarding Sir Edward Baker's speech at the last meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council as a threat, open or veiled, is that it believes His Honour knows as well as anybody that repression does not pay. Among a people as intelligent and as law-abiding as the Indians, who are rapidly rising to national self-consciousness, repression has never availed in the past and never will avail. In some few cases the innocent may be confounded with the guilty, and a panic-stricken Government may think it never can nor need make a nice discrimination between the two classes, but in the main the party most to suffer from such policy must be the Government itself. A Government unless it has abdicated its function, cannot for ever go on confusing the innocent with the guilty or repressing the natural and legitimate aspirations of the people. A state of alienation between the Government and the people is not a state conducive to successful administration, and a Government which cannot successfully administer the affairs of a country, must, under modern conditions, allow itself to be transformed into one which can. As for repressing the aspiration of the people, it is a commonplace that the thoughts and ideals of a nation, whatever they may be, cannot be punished. It is only in matters directly affecting the Government that anything like open repression is possible. In other words, the bureaucracy can interfere with some semblance of justification, either for self-preservation or in the avowed interests of law and order, though such interference will not always be legitimate. Only by making the people feel that its policy is just and

progressive, and that in its inevitable evolution it will confer freedom on them in an ever-increasing measure, until the goal of the nationalist, that of self-Government, has been achieved, can it hope to succeed in its administration or to win the love and respect of the community. Repression may indeed hamper the national cause for a time, but it will also weaken the position of Government while the people will necessarily grow stronger day by day. The journal is therefore convinced that British statesmanship will never sanction repression except for a limited purpose and a short period of time. At any rate Sir Edward Baker knows human nature too well to think of repeating the blunder of his predecessor and of Sir Bampfylde Fuller.

III.—LEGISLATION.

680. The *Bengalee* states that the more carefully one studies the provisions of the new Police Bill, the more one feels

The new Bill.

convinced that the powers with which it seeks to invest the police are as dangerous as they are unwarranted. One of the least defensible of the provisions is that which confers extended powers on the police to arrest without a warrant. There might be some justification for this provision in an Act which dealt, for the most part with ordinary crime, although even then it was liable to abuse. The Bill is, however, inspired by a political object, more than one section of it dealing with political offences. So far as this class of offences are concerned, the police ought never to have the power to arrest without a warrant, for the ordinary police officer can never be trusted to make the nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty, which it is the business of law Courts to make. The police in this country have shown that they never know what is and what is not reasonable suspicion. Whenever the offence is of a complex character, they commit the most egregious mistakes, and either confound the innocent with the guilty or arrest on inadequate and unreliable evidence. Therefore it might have been expected that in view of the provisions in the Bill dealing with distinctly political offences, the power to arrest without a warrant would be curtailed. In England the right of public meeting, along with the right of association and freedom of the press, are regarded as primary rights of the subject and interference with any of these rights, whether on the part of the police or the magistracy, except when there is the clearest justification for it, would not be tolerated. In India such interference is among the commonest things. If the Bill be passed into law the right of public meeting will practically disappear—for a right in this country which has to be exercised subject to the control and discretion of the police, is a right that does not exist. A vigorous agitation therefore should immediately be set on foot to defeat the Bill. The journal still cherishes the hope that Government will stay its hand, if the true state of things and of the public feeling is represented to it.

681. Referring to the new Police Bill, the *Bengalee* states that notwithstanding the enormous powers which the Executive

Ibid.

and the police already possess, Government is trying to add to them. The people are absolutely at their mercy in respect of most of their public activities. The freedom of the Press has been curtailed while the right of public meeting exists only on sufferance. The police can search any house and arrest anybody on mere suspicion. The subordinate judiciary is often so subservient that there is little to distinguish it from the Executive, and even High Court Judges have been known to be dominated by Executive bias. In respect of one important class of offences accused persons have been deprived of the advantage of trial by jury and of the right of public investigation of their case before they are committed to the special Tribunal of the High Court. Added to all this is the extraordinary power possessed by the Executive of deporting a man without trial. The Calcutta Police Bill has therefore been introduced with the sole object of making the police even more irresistible than they are.

Its introduction must be interpreted as a proof that in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor the powers already possessed by the Executive Government, particularly the police, are not adequate. It shows that there are

BENGALIAN,
21st July 1909.

BENGALIAN,
22nd July 1909.

officials with whom the prevention or punishment of crime is only an ostensible object, the real object being to deal a blow to the growing public spirit, the budding national life, in the country. With this object they have been resorting alternately to repression and conciliation, to sympathy and coercion, not knowing precisely which would help them the more. It is regarded as a singular circumstance that Government has not cared to wait till the Council is reconstituted before introducing a Bill of this kind. Perhaps, like Lord Minto did in the case of the deportations, the Government of Bengal would urge, in defence of its present action, that it was anxious to have done with repression before the reforms were actually introduced. The non-official majority might have sprung a surprise upon the Government by actually opposing a repressive Bill. If it did the Local Government would be simply powerless, while it would be no very dignified spectacle for it to appeal to the concurrent jurisdiction of the Government of India so soon after the reconstitution of its Council. On the other hand, if the measures are passed beforehand, all that would be left to the non-official majority to do, would be to press for their repeal, which would not be a very easy thing. If the Bill is passed, there must be a vigorous agitation against it. Each individual must feel that if the repressive policy of the bureaucracy is not ultimately defeated, if the power of the Government does not in due course pass from the hands of a small body of officials, the shame and disgrace will be as much his as anybody else's. He must remember besides, that just as he must exert himself to the utmost, so must he induce others to exert themselves and must co-operate with them. For not in isolated efforts, but in organised efforts, to be made by the whole community, lies the hope of salvation.

BENGALIAN,
23rd July 1909.

682. The *Bengalee* says:—

A significant omission from the Calcutta Police Bill

“Will any member of the Bengal Council try to elicit official explanation as to why all the provisions of the Bombay Police Act, that go to place the people at the mercy of the police, have been embodied in the Calcutta Police Bill, and the only provision in that Act which is intended as a check against the misuse of their arbitrary powers by the police has been quietly omitted from the Bill? Mr. Duke readily borrowed the indemnity section of the Bombay Act (section 140), but took no notice of section 19 of the Act which makes illegal or vexatious use of his powers by any police officer punishable with imprisonment extending to six months or fine up to Rs. 500 or with both. Mr. Duke does not hesitate even to invest the police in Calcutta and its suburbs with power to make house-searches at night time, but he takes care that the police should not be made answerable in any Court of law, criminal or civil, for anything they did under this coercive measure. The Secretaries had secured for Sir Andrew Fraser the popular title of the ‘Protector of the Police’ Are they equally anxious that the policy of the late Lieutenant-Governor should be more zealously pursued under the present regime? We doubt, whether the framer of the Calcutta Police Bill drew the attention of Sir Edward Baker to section 19 of the Bombay Act, and whether the section has been omitted from the Calcutta Bill with His Honour’s knowledge.”

MUSALMAN,
23rd July 1909.

683. The *Mussalman* would have had no objection to the provisions of

The Calcutta Police Bill.

the new Bill, could it believe that the police would not abuse their power, but unfortunately its experience is altogether different. It does not grudge the enhancement of power of the Commissioner of Police as it believes that a high official like him is incapable of many things which the subordinate members of the service are capable of. If he does not put implicit faith on the reports of his officers, there is hope that occasions of abuse of power will be few and far between.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
26th July 1909.

684. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* protests against such an important

Ibid.

measure being rushed through without giving the public a full opportunity to consider its various provisions. The great British Government should not consider that a month’s or two months’ delay would make the administration insecure. Regarding the Bill itself, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is of opinion that the liberty of the citizens will be greatly jeopardised, and that repression and coercion will be rampant, if the Bill is passed in its present shape. While the rights and

privilege of the citizens are curtailed on one hand, the police are armed on the other with irresistible powers with the least chance of facing the consequences in a Court of law, protected as they will be from liability to damages by the new sections of the Bill.

685. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* regards the rules and regulations relating to the new Councils Act of such importance that the public ought to have been invited to give their opinions on the subject. But this was not done since the rules and regulations have been quietly drafted by the officials themselves, and are about to be sent to England for the sanction of the Secretary of State. And they will no doubt be placed before the public for criticism when the sanction has been obtained and everything has become a "settled fact," that is to say, when criticism would be a mere waste of energy and time. Is any other country in the British Empire governed in this fashion? And yet the authorities lose their temper if the people grumble and feel themselves unable to co-operate with them in administering public affairs. They are quite willing to co-operate if they find that co-operation would be real and not nominal. Seeing that their representatives are to continue to be mere ornamental figureheads in the Councils for the purpose of only advising and protesting without the power to vote even a single rupee for the good of their motherland, the idea of co-operation can hardly appeal to their minds. If the rules and regulations are, however, framed in a liberal spirit, the Reform Scheme in spite of its manifold defects may yet be of considerable value both to the people and the rulers.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
22nd July 1900.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

686. The *Bengalee* is of opinion that Mr. Gokhale was not far from right in his analysis of the situation when he said that the question of self-Government ultimately resolved itself into one of character, capacity, and fitness. Nobody knows better than Mr. Gokhale that character is inseparable from life and that it depends to no small extent upon the actual conditions amid which a man lives, what his character or capacity should be. Mr. Gokhale is anxious that the country should co-operate with the Government. He evidently thinks that it is through this co-operation that character and capacity will be formed. This is precisely the point where he errs. Mere co-operation with Governmental authority, where that authority stands outside the social organism, can never develop the manliness and courage which constitute the most important asset in the present-day life of the people. Whether they confine themselves to biological or social evolution, these traits in man's character have always been developed through struggle. The condition of the struggle in future will materially differ from those in the past and be in the moral and economic fields rather than in the physical. But however much the merely physical element may be eliminated, conflict itself there will be. Nations will not in future have their rights any more than they have had them in the past, without paying the legitimate price in sacrifice. Although the bureaucracy may have in the past done very well for a bureaucracy, it never can fulfil the purposes of popular self-Government. The utmost it can give is good Government, although a time generally comes in the history of every people when good Government itself becomes impossible, unless the people have effective control over the administration and a real voice in it. In any case no amount of good Government can be a substitute for Government by the people themselves. In order to achieve self-Government, the first duty of the people is to educate and then to organise. In either case success can be achieved only by subordinating individualistic desires, inclinations and appetites to the national sentiment. There will also be room for propagandism in the future as there have been in the past, and it can have no nobler or higher object in view than that of preaching the subordination of the claims of the individual to those of the nation.

BENGALUR,
23rd July 1900.

687. In a lengthy article the *Karmayogin* advocates the necessity of self-sacrifice on the part of the people as being essential for the development of nationalism. It says that the readiness to sacrifice self-interest, family interest and class interest to the

KARMAYOGIN,
24th July 1900.

larger national interest, is the condition of humanity's fulfilment in the nation, and that to die for its welfare or safety is the supreme act of self-consummation in the larger national ego.

BENGALER,
24th July 1909.

688. The *Bengalee* declares it is nothing short of melancholy meanness on the part of His Majesty's ministers that they should grudge India more than one day for the discussion of Indian questions. What they evidently fear is that the discussion would necessarily throw light upon some at least of the dark spots in the administration. Whether it is necessary to remove the defects pointed out in Parliament, it is always disagreeable to be told that the defects exist. There is also the further fact that the Under-Secretary or Secretary of State must answer criticism, which is never easy to do, specially in the case of India, and if they are not able to meet criticism judgment goes against them by default. That is why Parliamentary discussion of matters Indian is as a rule disliked by the ministers. Yet Lord Morley was only recently loud in his complaint that India received too little attention.

BENGALER,
24th July 1909.

689. According to the *Bengalee*, Indian nationalism would have had no future before it if it depended to ever so small an extent upon methods of violence or was even prepared to tolerate them. The Government, so organized and so powerful, would have very little difficulty in crushing any party of physical force in the country, however strong. It is precisely because Indian nationalism does not in any of its aspects countenance violence or active resistance in any form that it is so strong, and is every day getting to be more and more irresistible. The only force that it appeals to is the force of opinion—of Englishmen and of the civilised world. Public opinion is indeed a danger to anything that will not stand the test of scrutiny, and has its value even in India, though the value may at present be only moral. The fact that even the bitterest administrative or legislative pills are sugared in order to be made tasteful, is itself a clear proof that opinion is not a negligible quantity. Be a measure as repressive as it may, the officials have to find some justification for it. The alleged "interests of the people" or "reasons of State" may sometimes be hypocritical phrases, but hypocrisy is a tribute which vice pays to virtue. Officials have not only to respect the opinion of the people over whom they are placed to rule, but of the whole world, since each nation nowadays knows what is being done by the other nations and takes a considerable interest in their doings. It is on this feeling of respect for opinion, so essential in civilised men, that the nationalist relies.

That is why he is anxious to educate his people so that what are mere interests to-day may become opinions to-morrow.

INDIAN MIRROR,
25th July 1909.

690. Having regard to the trend of swadeshim in Bengal, as compared with its development in Bombay, the *Indian Mirror* does not wonder that the sum total of the work in the former province in the line of genuine industrialism is *vox et praeterea nihil*. The swadeshim in Western India is essentially practical. The Parsis and Bhatias have taken no boycott vow, they indulge in no high-faluting talk, nor do they make unseemly demonstrations in public. It is time that Bengalis were as sober and practical. The Government is very willing to help honest swadeshim, and every official in India, from the Viceroy downwards, has been trying to impress the fact upon the people. The recent resolution of the Government of India, regarding the purchase of Government stores, is a tangible expression of its desire to encourage indigenous industries. The Government asks for co-operation, and every Indian who loves his country should heartily respond to that call. As a first step to this end they should drop boycott.

G. C. DENHAM,

Special Asst. to the Deputy Insp.-Genl.

of Police, Bengal.

OFFICE OF THE BENGAL SPECIAL BRANCH,
7, KYD STREET,

The 31st July 1909.

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